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THE
HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE:
WITH AN ACCOUNT
OF THE
DECLINE & FALL OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE;
AND A VIEW OF THE
PROGRESS OF SOCIETY,
FROM THE
RISE OF THE MODERN KINGDOMS TO THE PEACE OF PARIS,
IN 1763.

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS FROM A NOBLEMAN TO HIS SON

A NEW EDITION,
WITH
A CONTINUATION,
EXTENDING TO THE PACIFICATION OF PARIS, IN 1815

IN SIX VOLUMES.
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THE
HISTORY
OF
MODERN EUROPE.

PART II.

FROM THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA, IN 1648, TO THE PEACE OF PARIS.
IN 1763.

LETTER I.

History of England and Ireland, from the Accession of James I. to the Murder of Sir Thomas Overbury, and the Fall of the Earl of Somerset, in 1615.

IN bringing down the general transactions of Europe to the peace of Westphalia, when a new epoch in modern history commences, I excused myself from A. D. 1603. carrying the affairs of England lower than the death of Elizabeth.

This arrangement, my dear Philip, was suggested by the nature of the subject. The accession of the family of Stuart to the throne of England forms a memorable æra in the history of Great Britain. It gave birth to a struggle between the king and parliament, that repeatedly threw the whole island into convulsions, and which was never fully composed, until the final expulsion of the royal family. To make you acquainted with the rise and progress of this important struggle, while your mind is disengaged from other objects, and before I again lead you into the great line of European politics, with which it had

little connexion, shall now be my business. By entering upon it sooner, I should have disjoined the continental story, have withdrawn your attention from matters of no less moment, and yet have been obliged to discontinue the subject, when it became most interesting.

The English throne being left vacant by the death of Elizabeth, who with her latest breath had declared, that she wished to be succeeded by her nearest kinsman, the king of Scots, or who in her dying moments had made signs to that purpose, James was immediately proclaimed king of England by the lords of the privy council. He was great grandson of Margaret, eldest daughter of Henry VII.—so that, on the failure of the male line of the house of Tudor, his hereditary title remained unquestionable. The crown of England therefore passed from the family of Tudor to that of Stuart, with as much tranquillity as ever it was transmitted from father to son. People of all ranks, forgetting their ancient hostilities with Scotland, and their repugnance to the dominion of strangers, testified their satisfaction with louder acclamations than were usual at the accession even of their native princes. They foresaw greater advantages resulting from a perpetual alliance with Scotland, than inconveniences from submitting to a sovereign of that kingdom. And by this junction of its whole collective force, Great Britain has risen to a degree of power and consequence in Europe, which Scotland and England, destined by their position to form one vigorous monarchy, could never have attained as separate and hostile kingdoms.

Dazzled with the glory of giving a master to their rich and powerful rivals, and relying on the partiality of their native prince, the Scots expressed no less joy than the English at this increase of their sovereign's dignity; and as his presence was necessary in England, where the people were impatient to see their new king, James instantly prepared to leave Edinburgh, and set out for London without delay. In his journey, crowds of his English subjects every where assembled to welcome him: great were the rejoicings, and loud and hearty the salutations that resounded from all sides. But James, who wanted that engaging affability by which Elizabeth had captivated the hearts of her people; who, although social and familiar among his friends and courtiers, could not bear the fatigue of rendering himself agreeable to a mixed multitude; and who, though far from disliking flattery, was still fonder of ease; unwisely issued a proclamation forbidding such tumultuous resort. A disadvantageous comparison between his deportment and that of his illustrious predecessor was the consequence; and if Elizabeth's frugality in conferring honours had formerly been repined at,

it was now justly esteemed, in contrast with that undistinguishing profusion with which James bestowed them¹.

The king's liberality, however, in dispensing these honours, it may be presumed, would have excited less censure in England, had they not been shared out, with other advantages, in too large proportions to his Scottish courtiers, a numerous train of whom accompanied him to London. Yet it must be owned, in justice to James, whose misfortune it was, through his whole reign, to be more guided by temper and inclination than by the rules of political prudence, that he left all the great offices of state in the hands of Elizabeth's ministers, and trusted the conduct of public affairs, both foreign and domestic, for a time, to his English subjects. Among these secretary Cecil, with whom he had for some time carried on a private correspondence, and who had smoothed his way to the throne, was regarded as his prime minister. As this correspondence had been conducted with profound secrecy, Cecil's favour with the king created general surprise; it being well known to the nation, that his father had been the principal cause of the tragical death of the queen of Scots, and that he himself had hastened the fate of the earl of Essex, the warm friend of the family of Stuart. But the secretary's services had obliterated his crimes; and James was not so destitute of prudence or of gratitude, as to slight the talents of a man who was able to give stability to his throne, nor so vindictive as to persecute him from resentment of a father's offences. On the contrary, he loaded him with honours; creating him successively baron of Essington, viscount Cranbourn, and earl of Salisbury. The son of the earl of Essex was gratified with a restitution of title and estate; while sir Walter Raleigh, lord Grey, and lord Cobham, Cecil's former associates, were dismissed from their employments. This disgrace, however, was not so much occasioned by their violent opposition to the king's family during the life of Elizabeth, as by an ineffectual attempt which they had made, after her death, to prescribe certain conditions to the declared successor (whom they found they wanted power to set aside) before he should ascend the throne².

James and his new ministers had soon an opportunity of exercising their political sagacity. Ambassadors arrived from almost all the princes and states in Europe, to congratulate him on his accession to the crown of England, and form new treaties and alliances with him, as the head of the two British king-

1 Within six weeks after his entrance into England, he is said to have bestowed knighthood on two hundred and thirty-seven persons, many of whom were utterly unworthy of such honour.

2 Winwood's Memorials, vol. ii.

doms. Among others, Henry Frederic of Nassau, assisted by the pensionary Barneveldt, represented the United Provinces. But the envoy who most excited the attention of the public, both on account of his own merit and that of his master, was the marquis de Rosni, afterward duke of Sully. He proposed, in the name of Henry IV. a league with James, in conjunction with Venice, the United Provinces, and the northern crowns, to restrain the ambition, and depress the exorbitant power of the house of Austria³. But whether the genius of the British king, naturally timid and pacific, was inadequate to such vast undertakings, or so penetrating as to discover, that the French monarchy, now united in domestic concord, and governed by an able and active prince, was of itself a sufficient counterpoise to the Austrian greatness, he declined taking any part in the projected league; so that Rosni, obliged to contract his views, could only concert with him the means of providing for the safety of the United Provinces. Nor was this an easy matter; for James, before his accession to the throne of England, had entertained many scruples in regard to the revolt in the Low Countries, and had even gone so far, on some occasions, as to give to the Dutch the appellation of rebels⁴. He was induced, however, after conversing freely with his English ministers and courtiers, to sacrifice to politics his sense of justice. He found the attachment of his new subjects so strong to that republic, and their opinion of a common interest so firmly established, as to make his concurrence necessary: he therefore consented to give secret support to the states-general, in conjunction with France, lest their weakness and despair should bring them again under the dominion of Spain.

While James was taking these prudent steps, some bold malcontents conspired to place on the throne of England Arabella Stuart, the king's cousin-german, equally descended with him from Henry VII. Watson and Clarke, two Catholic priests, were accused of devising the plot, and executed for their share in it. But the chief conspirators were lord Cobham and his brother Mr. Broke, lord Grey, sir Griffin Markham, sir Walter Raleigh, and other discarded courtiers. These daring and ambitious spirits meeting frequently, and believing the whole nation as dissatisfied as themselves, had entertained very criminal projects; and some of them, as appeared on their trial, had even entered into a correspondence with d'Aremberg, the Flemish ambassador, in order to disturb the new settlement of the crown⁵. Cobham, Grey, and Markham were pardoned, after they had laid their heads upon the block; Broke was executed,

3 Mém. de Sully.

4 Winwood, vol. ii.

5 State Trials, vol. i.

and Raleigh reprieved⁶. He remained, however, in confinement many years.

Soon after he had escaped this danger, the king was engaged in a scene of business more suited to his temper, and in which he was highly ambitious of making a figure. Of all the qualities that mark the character of James, he was by none so much distinguished as by the pedantic vanity of being thought to excel in school-learning⁷. This vanity was much heightened by the flattery which he received from his English courtiers, especially those of the ecclesiastical order; and he was eager for an opportunity of displaying his theological talents, of all others most admired in that age, to the whole body of his new subjects. Such an opportunity was now offered him, by a petition from the puritans, for reforming certain tenets of the established church. Under pretence of finding expedients which might reconcile the parties, the king called a conference at Hampton-court, and gave the petitioners hopes of an impartial A. D. 1604. debate, though nothing appears to have been farther from his purpose. This matter will require some illustration.

The puritans, whom I have formerly had occasion to mention⁸, formed a sect which secretly lurked in the church, but pretended not to any separate worship or discipline. They frequented no dissenting congregations, because there were no such in the kingdom; uniformity of religion being, in that age, thought absolutely necessary to the support of government, if not to the very existence of civil society, by men of all ranks and characters. But they maintained, that they formed the only pure church; that their principles and practices ought to be established by law, and that none else deserved to be tolerated. In consequence of this way of thinking, the puritanical clergy frequently refused to comply with the legal ceremonies, and were deprived of their livings, if not otherwise punished, during the reign of Elizabeth; yet so little influence had these severities

⁶ Winwood, vol. ii.

⁷ Only the pedantry of James, which led him to display his learning upon all occasions, could have drawn upon him contempt as a scholar; for his book, entitled *Basilicon Doron*, which contains precepts relative to the art of government, addressed to his son prince Henry, must be allowed, notwithstanding the subsequent alterations and refinements in national taste, to be a respectable performance, and to be equal to the works of most contemporary authors, both in purity of style and justness of composition. If he wrote concerning witches and apparitions; who in that age, as the sagacious Hume observes, did not admit the reality of these fictitious beings?—If he composed a commentary on the Revelations, and endeavoured to prove that the pope was antichrist; may not a similar reproach be extended to the famous Napier? and even to the great Newton? who lived at a time when learning and philosophy were more advanced than during the reign of James I.

⁸ Part I. Letter LXXIV.

upon the party, that no less than seven hundred and fifty clergymen signed the petition to the king for the farther reformation of the church?

As James had been educated in the religion of the church of Scotland, which was nearly the same with that which the puritans wished to establish in England, and as, in his commentary on the Revelations, he had represented Modern Rome as the Whore of Babylon mentioned in scripture, these enthusiastic zealots hoped to see the sanctuary thoroughly purified, and every remaining rag of the whore torn away. The impurities of which they chiefly complained were the episcopal vestments, and certain harmless ceremonies, venerable from age and preceding use, which the moderation of the church of England had retained at the Reformation ; such as the use of the ring in marriage, the cross in baptism, and the reverence of bowing at the name of Jesus. If the king should not utterly abolish these abominations, they flattered themselves that he would at least abate the rigour of the laws against non-conformity.

But although James, in youth, had strongly imbibed the Calvinistical doctrines, his mind had now taken a contrary bias. The more he knew of the puritanical clergy, the less favour he bore them. He had remarked in their Scottish brethren a violent turn towards republican maxims ; and he had found, that the same lofty pretensions, which dictated their familiar addresses to their Creator, induced them to take still greater freedoms with their earthly sovereign. They had disputed his tenets, and counteracted his commands. These liberties, which could not have recommended them to any prince, rendered them peculiarly obnoxious to James, whose head was filled with lofty notions of kingship and prerogative, as well as of his theological pre-eminence and ecclesiastical supremacy. Besides, he dreaded the popularity which the puritans had acquired in both kingdoms ; and being much inclined to mirth and wine, and sports of all kinds, he apprehended the censure of their austerity on account of his free and disengaged manner of life. Being thus, from temper as well policy, unfriendly to this rigorous sect, he resolved to prevent, as far as possible, its farther growth in England, and even to introduce the English liturgy into Scotland, in order to soften the manners of the people.

A judge so prejudiced could not be just. The puritans accordingly complained, and with reason, of the unfair management of the dispute at the conference. Instead of acting as arbiter, the king became principal disputant, and frequently repeated the episcopal maxim : " No bishop, no king !" The bishops, and

other courtiers, in their turn, were very liberal in their applause of the royal theologian. "I have often heard that the royalty and priesthood were united," said the chancellor Egerton, "but never saw it verified till now." And Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, exclaimed, "that he verily believed the king spoke by the special assistance of God's Spirit!" Thus flattered and encouraged by the churchmen, James ordered the puritans to conform. They obtained, however, a few alterations in the liturgy; and strenuously pleaded for the revival of certain assemblies, which they called *prophesyings*, and which had been suppressed by Elizabeth, as dangerous to the state. This demand roused all James's choler; and he delivered himself in a speech, which distinctly shows the political considerations that determined him in his choice of religious parties. "If you aim at a Scottish presbytery," replied he, "it agrees as well with monarchy as God and the Devil. There Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick, shall meet and censure me and my council: therefore I reiterate my former speech; *le Roi s'avisera*. Stay, I pray for seven years before you demand; and then, if you find me grow pury and fat, I may perchance hearken unto you; for that government will keep me in wind, and give me work enough¹⁰."

The assembly in which the king next displayed his learning and eloquence was of a very different complexion. The meeting of the great council of the nation had hitherto been delayed from a dread of the plague, which had lately broken out in London, and there raged to such a degree, that above thirty thousand persons are supposed to have died of it, although the city and suburbs did not then contain two hundred thousand inhabitants. At length, however, the plague subsided, and the parliament was convened. The speech which James made on that occasion fully displays his character. March 19. Though not contemptible either in style or matter, it wants the majestic brevity and reserve which becomes a king in addressing his subjects from the throne. "Shall I ever," said he, "nay can I ever be able, or rather so unable, in memory, as to forget your unexpected readiness and alacrity, your ever-memorable resolution, and the most wonderful conjunction and harmony of your hearts, in declaring and embracing me as your undoubted and lawful king and governor? or shall it ever be blotted out of mind, how, at my first entrance into this kingdom, the people of all sorts rid and ran, nay rather flew, to meet me? their eyes flaming nothing but sparkles of affection, their mouths and tongues uttering nothing but sounds of joy; their hands, feet, and all the rest of their members, in

10 Fuller's Church History.—Wilson's Life and Reign of James I.

their gestures discovering a passionate longing to meet their new sovereign!" He then expatiated on the manifold blessings which the English had received in his person; and concluded with observing, that the measure of their happiness would be full, if England and Scotland were united in one kingdom. "I am the husband," added he, "and the whole island is my lawful wife; and I hope no one will be so unreasonable as to think, that a Christian king under the Gospel can be a polygamist, and the husband of two wives".¹¹

The following words in a letter from James to the parliament on the same subject, are more to the purpose. "It is in you now," says he, "to make the choice—to procure prosperity and increase of greatness to me and mine, you and yours; and by the away-taking of that partition-wall, which already, by God's providence, in my blood is rent asunder, to establish my throne and your body politic in a perpetual and flourishing peace." This was indeed an important and desirable object: and so much was the king's heart set upon effectually removing all division between the two kingdoms, and so sure did he think himself of accomplishing his aim, that he assumed the title of king of Great Britain; quartered St. Andrew's cross with that of St. George; and in order to give a general idea of the peaceful advantages of such an union, the iron doors of the frontier towns were converted into plough-shares. But the minds of men were not yet ripe for that salutary measure. The remembrance of former hostility was too recent to admit of a cordial friendship; the animosity between the two nations could only be allayed by time. The complaisance of the two houses to the king, therefore, carried them no farther than to appoint forty-four English to meet with thirty-one Scottish commissioners, in order to deliberate upon the terms of an union, without any power of making advances towards its final establishment¹².

The commons discovered a better judgment of national interest, in some other points in which they opposed the crown; and fully showed, that a bold spirit of freedom, if not a liberal manner of thinking, had become general among them. It had been usual during the reign of Elizabeth, as well as in more early periods of the English government, for the chancellor to exert a discretionary authority, of issuing new writs for supplying the places of such members as he judged incapable of attending on account of their ill state of health, or any other impediment¹³. This dangerous prerogative James ventured to exercise in the case of sir Francis Goodwin. The chancellor

¹¹ Works of James I. ¹² Journal of the House of Commons, June 7, 1604.

¹³ Journ. January 19, and March 18, 1580.

declared his seat vacant, and issued a writ for a new election. But the commons, whose eyes were now opened, saw the pernicious consequences of such a power, and asserted their right of judging solely in their own elections and returns. "By this course," said a member, "a chancellor may call a parliament consisting of what persons he may prefer. Any suggestion, by any person, may be the cause of sending a new writ. It is come to this plain question, whether the chancery or the parliament ought to have authority?" The king was obliged to yield the point; and that right, so essential to public liberty, has ever since been regarded as a privilege inherent in the house of commons, though at that time rendered doubtful through the negligence of former parliaments.

Nor did the spirit and judgment of the commons appear only in their vigorous exertions in defence of their own privileges: they extended their attention to the commercial part of the nation, and endeavoured, though at that time in vain, to free trade from those shackles which the ill-judged policy of Elizabeth had imposed upon it. James had already, of his own accord, called in and annulled the numerous patents for monopolies, which had been granted by that princess, and which fettered every species of domestic industry; but the exclusive companies still remained, another species of monopolies, by which almost all foreign trade was brought into the hands of a few rapacious engrossers, and all prospect of future improvement in commerce sacrificed to a temporary advantage to the crown. The commons also attempted to free the landed interest from the burthen of wardships, and the body of the people from the oppression of purveyance. It will therefore be proper here to give some account of those oppressive remains of the feudal government.

The right of purveyance was an ancient prerogative, by which the officers of the crown could, at pleasure, take provisions for the king's household, whithersoever he travelled, from all the neighbouring counties, and make use of the horses and carriages of the farmers. The prices of these provisions and services were fixed; but the payment of the money was often distant and uncertain, and the rates were always much inferior to the usual market price; so that purveyance, besides the slavery of it, was always regarded as a heavy burthen, and, being arbitrary and casual, was liable to great abuses. Elizabeth made use of it to victual her navy during the first years of her reign. Wardship, though the most regular and legal of all impositions by prerogative, was also a humiliating badge of slavery, and oppressive to all the considerable families among

the nobility and gentry. When an estate devolved to a female, the king would oblige her to marry whom he pleased; and whether the heir was male or female, the crown enjoyed the whole profits of the estate during the minority. These impositions had been often complained of; and the commons now proposed to compound with the king for them, by a secure and independent revenue. The benefit which the crown reaped from wardship and purveyance was accordingly estimated; but, after some debates in the lower house, and a conference with the lords on the subject, it was found to contain more difficulties than could at that time be surmounted.

Soon after the rising of parliament, a treaty of peace, which
 Aug. 18. had been some time in agitation, was concluded with Spain. And although the war between Philip II. and Elizabeth appears to have been continued from personal animosity rather than any contrariety of political interests between their subjects, this treaty was generally disliked by the English nation, as it checked the spirit of enterprise, so prevalent in that age, and contained some articles which seemed prejudicial to the Dutch commonwealth. But these stipulations, so far at least as they regarded supplies, were never executed by James, who had, by a secret article, reserved to himself the power of assisting the United Provinces.

During this season of peace and tranquillity was brought to
 A. D. 1605. light one of the most diabolical plots of which there is any record in the history of mankind. The conspiracy to which I allude is the GUNPOWDER TREASON!—A scheme so infernally dark will require some elucidation.

The Roman Catholics in general were much disappointed, and even exasperated, by the king's conduct in religious matters. He was not only the son of the unfortunate Mary, whose life they believed to have been sacrificed in their cause; but, in order to quiet opposition, and make his accession to the throne of England more easy, he had given hopes that he would tolerate their religion. They therefore expected great favour and indulgence under his government. But they soon discovered their mistake; and, being equally surprised and enraged, when they found James had resolved to execute the rigorous laws enacted against them, they determined on vengeance. Some of the most zealous of the party, under the direction of Garnet the superior of the Jesuits in England, conspired to exterminate, at one blow, the most powerful of their enemies in this kingdom; and, in consequence of that blow, to re-establish the Catholic faith. Their conspiracy had for its object the destruction of the king and parliament. For this purpose, they lodged thirty-six barrels of gunpowder in a vault beneath the house of lords, usually let as

a coal-cellar, which had been hired by Percy, a relative of the earl of Northumberland. The time fixed for the execution of the plot was the fifth of November, the day appointed for the meeting of the parliament; when the king, queen, and prince of Wales, were expected to be in the house, with the principal nobility and gentry. The rest of the royal family were to be seized, and all despatched, except the princess Elizabeth, James's eldest daughter, yet an infant, who was to be raised to the throne under the care of a catholic protector¹⁴.

The destined day at length approached; and the conspirators were filled with the strongest confidence of success, not wholly without reason; for, although the horrid secret had been communicated to above twenty persons, no remorse, no pity, no fear of punishment, no hope of reward, had induced any one accomplice, after more than twelve months, either to abandon the conspiracy or to make a discovery of it. But the holy fury by which they were actuated, though it had extinguished in their breasts every generous sentiment, and every selfish motive, yet left them susceptible of those bigoted partialities by which it was inspired, and which fortunately saved the nation. A short time before the meeting of parliament, lord Monteagle, a catholic nobleman, whose father, lord Morley, had been a great sufferer during the reign of Elizabeth, on account of his attachment to popery, received the following letter:

"My lord, out of the love I bear to some of your friends, I have a care of your preservation: therefore I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise some excuse to shift off your attendance at this parliament; for God and man have resolved to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not slightly of this advertisement; but retire yourself into the country, where you may expect the event in safety: for, though there be no appearance of any stir, yet I say they will receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and can do you no harm; for the danger is past as soon as you have burned the letter: and I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it, to whose holy protection I commend you¹⁵."

Though Monteagle was inclined to think this a foolish attempt to expose him to ridicule, by frightening him from attending his duty in parliament, he judged it safest to carry the letter to the earl of Salisbury. The secretary either did or pretended to think it a light matter; so that all further inquiry was dropped, till the king, who had been for some time at Royston, returned

¹⁴ Hist. of the Gunpowder Treason.--See also State Trials, vol. i.

¹⁵ Works of James I. p. 227.

to town. To the timid sagacity of James, the matter appeared in a more important point of view. From the serious and earnest style of the letter he conjectured that it intimated some dark and dangerous design against the state; and the hints respecting a great, sudden, and terrible blow, of which the authors would be concealed, seemed to denote some contrivance by gunpowder. It was, therefore, thought proper to inspect all the vaults under the parliamentary place of meeting. This inspection, however, was purposely delayed till the day before the meeting of the great council of the nation; when, on searching the vaults, the gunpowder was discovered, though concealed under great piles of wood and faggots; and Guy Fawkes, an officer in the Spanish service, who stood in a dark corner, and passed for Percy's servant, was seized and carried to the tower.

This man had been sent from Flanders, on account of his determined courage, and known zeal in the catholic cause. He was accordingly entrusted with the most hazardous part of the enterprise. The matches, and every thing proper for setting fire to the train, were found in his pocket. He at first behaved with insolence, and not only refused to discover his accomplices, but expressed the utmost regret, that he had lost the precious opportunity of at least sweetening his death, by taking vengeance on his and God's enemies¹⁶. But, after some confinement, his courage failed when the rack was shown to him; and he made a full discovery of all the conspirators. Several of them were men of ancient family, independent fortune, and unspotted character; instigated to so great a crime by a fanatical zeal alone, which led them to believe that they were serving their Maker, while they were contriving the ruin of their country, and the destruction of their species.

Such of the conspirators as were in London, on hearing that Fawkes was arrested, hurried down to Warwickshire; where sir Everard Digby, one of their associates, was already in arms, in order to seize the princess Elizabeth, who was then at lord Harrington's seat. They failed in their attempt to secure the princess; the country rose upon them; and they were all taken and executed except three, who fell a sacrifice to their desperate valour; namely, Wright, a daring fanatic; Catesby, the original conspirator; and Percy, his first and most active associate¹⁷.

After this escape, James seems to have enjoyed a kind of temporary popularity, even among his English subjects. If the Puritans were offended at his lenity towards the Catholics, against whom he exercised no new severities, the more moderate

¹⁶ Winwood, vol. ii. ¹⁷ Works of James, p. 261.—Winwood, vol. ii. State Trials, vol. i.

and intelligent part of the nation considered that lenity as truly magnanimous ; and all men seemed to be convinced that he could not be the patron of a religion which had aimed so tremendous a blow at his life and throne. His love of peace was favourable to commerce, which flourished under his reign ; and it procured him leisure, notwithstanding his natural indolence of temper, to attend to the disordered state of Ireland.

Elizabeth had lived to see the final subjection of that island. But a difficult task still remained : to civilise the barbarous inhabitants ; to reconcile them to laws and industry ; and by these means to render the conquest durable, and useful to the crown of England. The first step that James took in regard to this important business, which he considered as his master-piece in politics, was to abolish the Irish customs that supplied the place of laws ; and which were calculated, as will appear by a few examples, to keep the people for ever in a state of barbarism and disorder. Their chieftains, whose authority was absolute, were not hereditary but elective ; or, to speak more properly, were established by force and violence ; and although certain lands were assigned to the office, its chief profit arose from exactions, dues, assessments, which were levied at pleasure, and for which there was no fixed law¹⁸.

In consequence of the Brehen law or custom, every crime, how enormous soever, was punished in Ireland, not with death, but by a fine. Even murder itself, as among our Saxon ancestors, was atoned for in this manner ; and each man, according to his rank, had affixed to him a certain rate or value, which if any one was willing to pay, he might assassinate whatever man he disliked. This rate was called his *Eric*. Accordingly when sir William Fitzwilliams, while lord deputy, told the chieftain Maguire, that he was to send a sheriff into Fermanagh, which had been made a county a little before, and subjected to the English laws ; “ Your sheriff,” replied Maguire, “ shall be welcome to me : but let me know before-hand his *eric*, or the price of his head, that, if any of my people should cut it off, I may levy the money upon the county¹⁹.”

After abolishing these, and other pernicious Irish customs, and substituting English laws in their stead, James proceeded to govern the natives by a regular administration, military as well as civil. A sufficient army was maintained, its discipline inspected, and its pay punctually transmitted from England, in order to prevent the soldiers from subsisting upon the country, as had been usual in former reigns. Circuits were established, justice administered, oppression banished, and crimes and disorders of every kind severely punished. For the relief

¹⁸ Sir John Davies, p. 167

¹⁹ *Id. ibid.*

of the common people, the dues which the nobles usually claimed from their vassals were estimated at a fixed sum, and all farther arbitrary exactions prohibited under severe penalties²⁰.

The beneficial effects of these regulations were soon visible, especially in the province of Ulster ; which having
A. D. 1610. wholly fallen to the crown by the attainder of rebels, a company was established in London for planting colonies in that fertile territory. The property was divided into moderate shares, the largest not exceeding two thousand acres ; tenants were brought from England and Scotland ; the Irish were removed from the hills and fastnesses, and settled in the open country ; husbandry and the mechanical arts were taught them, a fixed habitation was secured for them, and every irregularity repressed. By these means Ulster, from being the most wild and disorderly province in Ireland, soon became the most civilised and the best cultivated part of the island.

But whatever domestic advantages might result from James's pacific disposition, it gradually lost him the affections of his people, as it induced him to avoid war by negotiations and concessions derogatory from the dignity of an English monarch. It sunk the national consequence, and perhaps the national spirit ; and his excessive love of carousals and hunting, of public spectacles and unavailing speculations, which left him little time for public business, at last divested his political character of all claim to respect, and rendered him equally contemptible at home and abroad. This contempt was increased by a disadvantageous comparison between the king and the prince of Wales.

Though youth and royal birth, embellished by the flattering rays of hope, prepossesses men strongly in favour of an heir apparent of the crown, Henry, James's eldest son, independently of such circumstances, seems to have possessed great merit.—

Although he was now in his nineteenth year, the il-
A. D. 1612. lusions of passion or of rank had never seduced him into any irregular pleasures : business and ambition alone engaged his heart, and occupied his mind. Had he lived to come to the throne, he might probably have promoted the glory more than the happiness of his people, his disposition being strongly turned to war. Of this we have a remarkable instance. When the French ambassador took leave of him, and asked his commands for France, he found him employed in the exercise of the
Nov. 6. pike : "Tell your king," said Henry, "in what occupation you left me engaged²¹." His death, which was sudden, diffused throughout the nation, the deepest sorrow, and violent reports were propagated that he had been taken

²⁰ Davies, p. 278.

²¹ *Disc. de la Bederie.*

off by poison. The physicians, however, on opening his body, found no symptoms to justify such an opinion²².

But James had one weakness, which drew on him more odium than either his pedantry, pusillanimity, or extravagant love of amusement; namely, an infatuated attachment to young and worthless favourites. This passion appears so much the more ludicrous, though less detestable, as it does not seem to have contained any thing criminal.²³

Of these favourites the first and most odious was Robert Carr, a young gentleman of a good family in Scotland. When about twenty years of age he arrived in London, after having passed some time in his travels. A handsome person, an easy manner, and a graceful air, were his chief accomplishments: and these were sufficient to recommend him to James, who, through his whole life, was too liable to be captivated by exterior qualities. Lord Hay, who was well acquainted with this weakness in his sovereign, and meant to take advantage of it, assigned to Carr, at a tournament, the office of presenting to the king his buckler and device. But, as the future favourite was advancing for that purpose, his ungovernable horse threw him, and his leg was broken by the fall.

Equally struck with this incident, and with the beauty and simplicity of the youth, whom he had never seen before, James approached him with sentiments of the softest compassion; ordered him to be lodged in the palace, and to be attended by the most skilful surgeons: and paid him frequent visits during his confinement. The more ignorant he found him, the stronger his attachment became. Having an elevated opinion of his own wisdom, he flattered himself that he should be able to form a minister whose political sagacity would astonish the world, while he surpassed all his former courtiers in personal and literary accomplishments. In consequence of this partial fondness, interwoven with selfish vanity, the king soon knighted his favourite: created him viscount Rochester, honoured him with the garter, admitted him into the privy council, and without assigning him any particular office, gave him the supreme direction of his affairs²⁴.

This minion, however, was not so transported by his sudden

22 Wilson.—Coke.—Welwood.

23 The interest which James took in the amours of his favourites, and his attention to the cultivation of their minds, ought to exempt him from all suspicion of an unnatural crime, notwithstanding the influence which personal beauty seems to have had in the choice of them. He appears to have been desirous of a minister of his own forming, who would be entirely subservient to his will, as being his creature in a double sense, and who might also prove an easy and disengaged companion for his mirthful hours.

24 Wilson's Life of James.

elevation, as not to be sensible of his own ignorance and inexperience. He had recourse to the advice of a friend, and found a judicious and sincere counsellor in sir Thomas Overbury, by whose means he enjoyed for a time, what is very rare, the highest favour of the prince without being hated by the people. To complete his happiness, he only wished for a kind mistress ; the desired object soon appeared, in the person of lady Frances Howard, daughter of the earl of Suffolk, similar to himself in weakness of understanding, and more than equal in personal attractions.

This lady, when about thirteen years of age, had unfortunately been married to the earl of Essex, from the king's too eager desire of uniting the families of Howard and Devereux ; and as her husband was only fourteen, it was thought proper to send him on his travels till they should arrive at the age of puberty. But such separations are always dangerous, whatever may be the age of the parties. Marriage awakens certain ideas in the female mind, which are best composed in the arms of a husband. Of this truth, Essex had melancholy experience. Lady Frances, during his absence, had opened her heart to the allurements of love ; and although, on his return to England, after travelling four years, he was pleased to find his countess in all the bloom of youth and beauty, he had the mortification to discover that her affections were totally alienated from him. Though forced by her parents to share his bed, she persisted in denying him the dues of marriage. At length disgusted by such coldness, he separated himself from her, and left her to pursue her own inclinations. This was what she eagerly desired. The high fortune and splendid accomplishments of the favourite had taken entire possession of her soul : and she thought that, so long as she refused to consummate her marriage with Essex, she could never be deemed his wife ; consequently, that a separation and divorce might still open the way to a marriage with her beloved Rochester. He himself was of the same opinion, and also desirous of such an union. Though the violence of their passion was such, that they had already indulged themselves in all the gratifications of love, and though they had frequent opportunities of intercourse, they began to feel themselves unhappy, because the tie between them was not indissoluble, and seemed both to have been alike impatient to crown their attachment with the sanction of the church. A divorce was accordingly procured, through the influence of the king, and the co-operation of Essex ; and, in order to preserve the countess from losing her rank by her new marriage, Rochester was created earl of Somerset²⁵.

This amour and its consequences afford an awful lesson on the fatal effects of licentious love ; but at the same time prove, that vice is less dangerous than folly in the intercourse of the sexes, when connected with the intrigues of a court. Though sir Thomas Overbury, without any scruple, had encouraged his friend's passion for the countess of Essex, while he considered it merely as an affair of gallantry, his prudence was alarmed at the idea of marriage. And he represented to Rochester, not only how invidious and difficult an undertaking it would prove to get her divorced from her husband, but how shameful it would be to take to his own bed a profligate woman, who, although married to a young man of high rank, had not scrupled to prostitute her character, and bestow her favours on the object of a capricious and momentary impulse ; on a lover who, she must suppose, would desert her on the first variable gust of loose desire.

Rochester was so weak as to reveal this conversation to the countess, and so base as to enter into her vindictive views ; to swear vengeance against his friend for the strongest instance that he could give of his fidelity. Some contrivance was necessary for the execution of their diabolical scheme. Overbury's conduct was misrepresented to the king, who granted a warrant for committing him to the tower ; A. D. 1612. where he lay till the divorce was procured, and Rochester's marriage with the Countess celebrated. Nor did this success, or the misery of the prisoner, who was not permitted to see even his nearest relatives, satisfy the vengeance of that violent woman. She engaged her husband, and her great uncle the earl of Northampton, in the atrocious design of taking off Overbury by poison²⁶ ; and they, in conjunction with sir Gervase Elwais, lieutenant of the Tower, at length effected their cruel purpose.

Though the precipitation of Overbury's funeral immediately excited a strong suspicion of the cause of his death, the crime was not fully brought to light till some years after ; A. D. 1615. when it was discovered by means of an apothecary's servant, who had been employed in making up the poisons, and the whole labyrinth of guilt distinctly traced to its source²⁷.

But although Somerset had so long escaped the inquiry of justice, he had not escaped the scrutiny of conscience, which continually pointed to him his murdered friend ; and, even within the circle of a court, and amid the blandishments of flattery and love, struck him with the representation of his secret enormity, and diffused over his mind a deep melancholy, inca-

²⁶ State Trials, vol. i.

²⁷ *Id. ibid.*

pable of being dispelled by the smiles of beauty or by the rays of royal favour. The graces of his person gradually disappeared, and his gaiety and politeness were lost in sullenness and silence.

The king, whose affections had been caught by these superficial accomplishments, finding his favourite no longer contribute to his amusement, and unable to account for so remarkable a change, more readily listened to the accusations brought against him. A rigorous inquiry was ordered; and Somerset and his countess were found guilty, but pardoned through the indiscreet lenity of James. They languished out their remaining years, which were many and miserable, in infamy and obscurity; alike hating and hated by each other²³. Sir Gervase Elwais and the inferior criminals suffered the punishment due to their guilt.

28 Wilson.

LETTER II.

Of the Affairs of England and Scotland, from the Rise of the Duke of Buckingham to the Death of James I. 1625.

THE fall of the earl of Somerset, and his banishment from court, opened the way for a new favourite to rise to the highest honours. George Villiers, a young English gentleman, of an engaging figure, had already attracted the eye of James, and had been appointed cup-bearer. This office might well have contented Villiers, and have attached him to the king's person; nor would such a choice have been censured, except by the cynically severe¹. But the profuse bounty of James induced him, in the course of a few years, contrary to all the rules of prudence and politics, to create his minion viscount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, knight of the garter, master of the horse, chief justice in Eyre, warden of the Cinque Ports, master of the King's Bench, steward of Westminster, constable of Windsor, and lord high admiral of England².

¹ James, who affected sagacity and design in his most trifling concerns, insisted, we are told, on the ceremony of the queen's soliciting this office for Villiers, as an apology to the world for his sudden predilection in favour of the youth.—Coke, p. 46.

² Franklin, p. 30.—Clarendon, vol. i.

This rapid advancement of Villiers, which rendered him for ever rash and insolent, involved the king in new necessities, in order to supply the extravagance of his minion. A price had been already affixed to every rank of nobility, and the title of Baronet invented, and currently sold for one thousand pounds, to supply the profusion of Somerset³. Some new expedient was now requisite; and one very unpopular, though certainly less disgraceful than the former, was embraced: the cautionary towns⁴ were delivered up to the Dutch for a sum of money. Part of their debt, which at one time amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds, was already discharged; and the remainder, after making an allowance for the annual expense of the garrisons, was agreed to be paid on the surrender of the fortresses⁵. This seems to have been all that impartial justice could demand; yet the English in general were highly dissatisfied with the transaction: and it must be owned, that a politic prince would have been slow in relinquishing possessions, on whatever conditions obtained, which enabled him to hold in a degree of subjection so considerable a neighbouring state as the republic of Holland.

The next measure in which James engaged rendered him as unpopular in Scotland as he was already in England. It was an attempt to establish a conformity in worship and discipline between the churches of the two kingdoms; a project which he had long revolved in his mind, and towards the completion of which he had taken some introductory steps. But the principal part of the business was reserved till the king should pay a visit to his native country. Such a journey he now undertook. This naturally leads us to consider the affairs of Scotland.

It might have been readily foreseen by the Scots, when the crown of England devolved upon James, that the independence of their kingdom, for which their ancestors had shed so much blood, would thenceforth be lost; and that, if both kingdoms should persevere in maintaining separate laws and parliaments, the weaker must feel its inferiority more sensibly than if it had been subdued by force of arms. But this idea did not generally occur to the Scottish nobles, formerly so jealous of the power as

³ Franklin, p. 11.

⁵ Winwood, vol. ii.—Rushworth, vol. i.—Mrs. Macaulay thinks that Elizabeth acted very ungenerously in demanding any thing from the Dutch for the assistance she lent them: “it ought, by all the obligations of virtue, to have been a free gift.” That the English queen took advantage of the necessities of the infant republic, to obtain possession of the cautionary towns, is certain: and the Dutch, when they became more opulent, took advantage of James’s necessities to recover them. Justice and generosity were in both cases, as in most transactions between nations, entirely out of the question.

⁴ See Part I. Let. LXXI.

well as of the prerogatives of their princes ; and as James was daily giving new proofs of his friendship and partiality to his countrymen ; by loading them with riches and honours, the hope of his favour concurred with the dread of his power in taming their fierce and independent spirits. The will of the king became the supreme law in Scotland. Meanwhile the nobles, left in full possession of their fendal jurisdiction over their own vassals, exhausting their fortunes by the expense of frequent attendance upon the English court, and by attempts to imitate the manners and luxury of their more wealthy neighbours, multiplied exactions upon the people, who hardly dared to utter complaints, which they knew would never reach the ear of their sovereign, or would be rendered too feeble to move him to grant them redress⁶. Thus subjected at once to the absolute will of a monarch, and to the oppressive jurisdiction of an aristocracy, Scotland suffered all the miseries peculiar to both these forms of government. Its kings were despots, its nobles were slaves and tyrants, and the people groaned under the rigorous domination of both⁷.

There was one privilege, however which the Scottish nobility in general, and the great body of the people, were equally zealous in protecting against the encroachments of the crown, namely, the independence of their *kirk* or church. The cause of this zeal deserves to be traced.

Divines differ in their opinions respecting the government of the primitive church. It appears, however, to have been that of the most perfect equality among the Christian teachers, who were distinguished by the name of *presbyters*, an appellation expressive of their gravity and wisdom, as well as of their age. But the most perfect equality of freedom requires the directing hand of a superior magistrate. Being soon sensible of this, the primitive Christians were induced to choose one of the wisest and most holy of their presbyters, to execute the duties of an ecclesiastical governor ; and, to avoid the trouble and confusion of annual or occasional elections, his office was continued during life, unless in cases of degradation on account of irregularity of conduct. His jurisdiction consisted in the administration of the sacraments and discipline of the church ; in the superintendence of religious ceremonies, which imperceptibly increased in number and variety ; in the consecration of Christian teachers, to whom the ecclesiastical governor or *bishop*

6 Robertson's Hist. Scot. vol. ii.—Hume's Hist. Eng. vol. vi.

7 Before the accession of James to the throne of England, the feudal aristocracy subsisted in full force in Scotland. Then the vassals both of the king and of the nobles, from mutual jealousy, were courted and caressed by their superiors, whose power and importance depended on their attachment and fidelity. Robertson's Hist. Scot. vol. ii.

assigned their respective functions ; in the management of the public funds, and in the determination of all such differences as the faithful were unwilling to expose to the heathen world⁸. This appears to have been the origin of the episcopal hierarchy, which rose to such an enormous height under the Christian emperors and Roman pontiffs.

When the enormities of the church of Rome, by rousing the indignation of the enlightened part of mankind, had called forth the spirit of reformation, the abhorrence excited by the vices of the clergy was soon transferred to their persons ; and thence by no violent transition, to the offices which they enjoyed. It may therefore be presumed, that the same holy fervour which abolished the doctrines of the Romish church, would also have overturned its ecclesiastical government, in every country where the Reformation was received, unless restrained by the civil power. In England, in great part of Germany, and in the northern kingdoms, such restraint was imposed on it by the policy of their princes ; so that the ancient episcopal jurisdiction, under a few limitations, was retained in the churches of those countries. But in Switzerland and the Netherlands, where the nature of the government allowed full scope to the spirit of reformation, all pre-eminence of rank in the church was destroyed, and an ecclesiastical government established, more suitable to the genius of a republican policy. This system, which has since been called *presbyterian*, was formed upon the model of the primitive church.

It ought, however, to be remarked, that the genius of the reformers, as well as the spirit of the reformation and the civil polity, had a share in the establishment of the presbyterian system. Zuinglius and Calvin, the apostles of Switzerland, were men of a more austere turn of mind than Luther, whose doctrines were generally embraced in England, Germany, and the north of Europe, where episcopacy still prevails. The church of Geneva, formed under the eye of Calvin, was esteemed the most perfect model of presbyterian government; and Knox, the apostle of Scotland, who, during his residence in that city, had studied and admired it, warmly recommended it to the imitation of his countrymen. The Scottish converts, detesting popery, and being under no apprehensions from the civil power, which the rage of reformation had humbled, ardently adopted a system so admirably suited to their predominant passion. Its effects on

⁸ See Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History, cent. i. ii. and Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, lib. vii. et seq.—A bishop, during the first and second centuries, was only a president in a council of presbyters, and the head of one Christian assembly ; and whenever the episcopal chair became vacant, a new president was chosen from among the presbyters, by the suffrage of the whole congregation.

their minds were truly astonishing, if not altogether præternatural.

A mode of worship, the most naked and simple imaginable, which, borrowing nothing from the senses, leaves the mind to repose itself entirely on the contemplation of the divine essence, was soon observed to produce great commotions in the breast, and in some instances to confound all rational principles of conduct and behaviour. Straining for those ecstatic raptures, the supposed operations of that divine Spirit by which they imagined themselves to be animated; reaching them by short glances, and sinking again under the weakness of humanity; the first presbyterians in Scotland were so much occupied in this mental exercise, that they not only rejected the aid of all exterior pomp and ceremony, but fled from every cheerful amusement, and beheld with horror the approach of corporal delight⁹.

It was this gloomy fanaticism, which had by degrees infected all ranks of men, and introduced a sullen obstinate spirit into the people, that chiefly induced James to think of extending to Scotland the more moderate and cheerful religion of the church of England. He had early experienced the insolence of the presbyterian clergy, who, under the appearance of poverty and sanctity, and a zeal for the glory of God, and the safety and purity of the kirk, had concealed the most dangerous censorial and inquisitorial powers, which they sometimes exercised with all the arrogance of a Roman consistory.

When James, by the advice of a convention of estates, had granted permission (in 1596) to Huntley, Errol, and other catholic noblemen who had been banished from Scotland, to return on giving security for their peaceable and dutiful behaviour, a committee of the general assembly of the kirk had the audacity to write circular letters to all the presbyteries, commanding them to publish in every pulpit an act of excommunication against the popish lords, and enjoining them to lay all those who were *suspected* of favouring popery under the *same censure* by a *summary sentence* and *without observing the usual formalities of trial*¹⁰! On this occasion one of the ministers declared from the pulpit, that the king, in permitting the popish lords to return, had discovered the treachery of his own heart; that all kings were the devil's children, and that Satan had now the guidance of the court¹¹! Another affirmed, in the principal church of the capital, that the king was possessed of a devil, and that his subjects might lawfully rise, and take the sword out of his hand¹²!

In consequence of these inflammatory speeches and audacious proceedings, the citizens of Edinburg rose, and surrounding

⁹ Keith.—Knox.
¹² Spotswood.

¹⁰ Robertson's Hist. Scot. vol. ii.

¹¹ Id. *ibid.*

the court of session, in which the king happened to be present, demanded some of his counsellors, whom they named, that they might tear them in pieces. On his refusal, some called, "Bring out the wicked Haman!" while others cried, "The sword of the Lord and of Gideon!" And James was for some time a prisoner in the heart of his own capital, and at the mercy of the enraged populace¹³.

But the king's behaviour on that occasion, which was firm and manly, as well as politic, restored him to the good opinion of his subjects in general. The populace dispersed, on his promising to receive their petitions, when presented in a regular form; and this fanatical insurrection, instead of overturning, served only to establish the royal authority. Those who were concerned in it, as soon as their enthusiastic rage had subsided, were filled with apprehension and terror, at the thoughts of insulted majesty; while the body of the people, in order to avoid suspicion, or to gain the favour of their prince, contended who should be most forward to execute his vengeance¹⁴.

A convention of estates pronounced the late insurrection to be high treason; ordered every clergyman to subscribe a declaration of his submission to the king's jurisdiction, in all matters civil and criminal; empowered magistrates to imprison any minister who in his sermons should utter indecent reflections on the king's conduct, and prohibited every ecclesiastical judicature from meeting without the king's license. These ordinances were confirmed by the general assembly of the kirk, which also declared sentences of summary excommunication unlawful, and vested in the crown the right of nominating ministers to the parishes in the principal towns¹⁵.

These were great and necessary steps; and perhaps James should have proceeded no farther in altering the government or worship of the church of Scotland. But he was not yet satisfied: he wished to bring it nearer to the episcopal model; and, after various struggles, he acquired sufficient influence over the presbyterian clergy, even before he ascended the English throne, to procure an act from their general assembly, declaring those ministers, on whom the king should confer the vacant bishoprics and abbeys, entitled to a vote in parliament¹⁶. Nor did he stop here. No sooner was he established in his new dignity, than he engaged them, though with still greater reluctance, to receive the bishops as perpetual presidents, or moderators, in the synods.

The repugnance of the presbyterian clergy to episcopacy was

13 Robertson's Hist. Scot. book viii. vol. ii.

15 Spotswood, p. 437.

14 Id. Ibid

16 Spotswood, p. 450

still, however, very great : nor could all the devices invented for restraining and circumscribing the spiritual jurisdiction of those who were to be raised to these new honours, or the hope of sharing them, allay their jealousy and fear¹⁷. James was therefore sensible, that he never could establish a conformity in worship and discipline, between the churches of England and Scotland, until he could procure from the Scottish parliament an acknowledgement of his own supremacy in all ecclesiastical causes. This was the principal object of his visit to his native country : where he proposed to the national council the enactment of a statute, declaring, that “ whatever his majesty should determine in regard to the external government of the church, with the consent of the archbishops, bishops, and a competent number of the ministers, should have the force of a law¹⁸.”

Had this bill received the sanction of parliament, the king's ecclesiastical government would have been established in its full extent, as it was not determined what number of the clergy should be deemed competent, and their nomination was left entirely to himself. Some of them protested : they apprehended that, by means of this new authority, the purity of their church would be polluted with all the rites and forms of the church of England ; and James, dreading clamour and opposition, dropped his favourite measure. He was able, however, A. D. 1618. to extort a vote from the general assembly of the kirk, for receiving certain ceremonies upon which his heart was more particularly set ; namely, kneeling at the sacrament, the private administration of it to sick persons, the confirmations of children, and the observance of Christmas and other festivals¹⁹. Thus, by an ill-timed zeal for insignificant forms, the king betrayed, though in an opposite manner, an equal narrowness of mind with the presbyterian clergy, whom he affected to hold in contempt. The constrained consent of the general assembly was belied by the inward sentiments of all ranks of people : even the few, over whom religious prejudices had less influence, thought national honour sacrificed by a servile imitation of the modes of worship practised in England.

A series of unpopular measures conspired to increase that odium, into which James had now fallen in both kingdoms, and

17 Perhaps the presbyterian clergy might have been less obstinate in rejecting James's scheme of uniformity, had any prospect remained of recovering the patrimony of the church. But that, they knew, had been torn in pieces by the rapacious nobility and gentry, and at their own instigation ; so that all hopes of restitution of church lands had vanished ; and without such restitution, the ecclesiastical dignities could scarcely become the objects of strong ambition.

18 Spotswood.—Franklin.

19 Spotswood.—Franklin.

which continued to the end of his reign. The first of these was the execution of sir Walter Raleigh.

This extraordinary man, who suggested the first idea of the English colonies in North America, and who had attempted, as early as the year 1584, a settlement in the country now known by the name of North Carolina, then considered as part of Virginia, had also made a voyage, in 1595, to Guiana in South America. The extravagant account which he published of the riches of the latter country, where no valuable mines have yet been discovered, has drawn much censure upon his veracity; particularly his description of the apparently fabulous empire and city of Manoa or El-Dorado, the sovereign of which, he pretended to suppose, possessed more treasure than the Spaniards had drawn from both Mexico and Peru²⁰.

Raleigh's motive for uttering these splendid falsities seems to have been a desire of turning the avidity of his countrymen toward that quarter of the New World where the Spaniards had found the precious metals in such abundance. This, indeed, sufficiently appears from his relation of certain Peruvian prophecies, expressly pointing out the English as the conquerors and deliverers of the rich country which he had discovered. As he was known, however, to be a man of a romantic turn of mind, and it did not appear that he had enriched himself by his voyage, little regard seems to have been paid to his narrative either by Elizabeth or the nation. But after he had languished many years in confinement, as a punishment for his conspiracy against James; when the envy excited by his superior talents had subsided, and commiseration was awakened for his unhappy condition; a report which he propagated of a wonderfully rich gold mine that he formerly had discovered in Guiana obtained general belief. People of all ranks were impatient to take possession of a country overflowing with the precious metals, and to which the nation was supposed to have a right by priority of discovery.

The king, by his own account, gave little credit to this report, not only because he believed there was no such mine in nature as the one described, but because he considered Raleigh as a man of desperate fortune, whose business it was by any means to procure his freedom, and reinstate himself in credit and authority²¹. Thinking, however, that he had undergone sufficient punishment, James ordered him to be released from the Tower; and when the hopes held out to the nation had induced multitudes to adopt his views, the king gave him permission to pur-

²⁰ See his Relat. in Hackluyt's Collect.

²¹ King James's Vindication, in the Harleian Miscellany, vol. iii. No. 2.

sue the projected enterprise, and invested him with authority over his fellow-adventurers ; but being still dissident of his intentions, he refused to grant him a pardon, that he might have some check upon his future conduct²².

The preparations made, in consequence of this commission, alarmed Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador ; and although Raleigh protested the innocence of his intentions, and James declared that he had prohibited all invasion of the settlements of his Catholic majesty, that minister sent to his court intelligence of the expedition, and stated his apprehensions from it. Twelve armed vessels, he justly concluded, could not be fitted out without some purpose of hostility ; and as Spain was then the only European power that had possessions in that part of America to which this fleet was destined, orders were given by the court of Madrid for fortifying all its settlements on or near the coast of Guiana.

It soon appeared that this precaution was not unnecessary. Though Raleigh's commission empowered him only to settle on a coast possessed by savage and barbarous inhabitants, he steered his course directly for the river Oronoco, where he knew there was a Spanish town named St. Thomas ; and, without any provocation, sent a detachment under his son and his old associate captain Keymis, who had accompanied him in his former voyage, to dislodge the Spaniards, and take possession of that town ; while he himself, with the larger vessels, guarded the mouth of the river, and obstructed the relief of the place²³. The Spaniards, apprised of this invasion, opposed the landing of the English ; as they had foreseen. Young Raleigh was killed by a shot, while animating his followers : Keymis, however, and his surviving companions, not dismayed by the unfortunate accident, took, plundered, and burned St. Thomas ; but found in it no booty adequate to their expectations²⁴.

It might have been expected that these bold adventurers, hav-

²² King James's Vindication in the Harl. Miscell.

²³ These particulars may be distinctly collected from the king's Vindication, and Raleigh's Apology.

²⁴ In apology for this violence, it has been said, that the Spaniards had built the town of St. Thomas in a country originally discovered by Raleigh, and therefore he had a right to dispossess them. Admitting that to be the case, Raleigh could never be excusable in making war without any commission empowering him so to do, much less in invading the Spanish settlements contrary to his commission. But the fact is otherwise : the Spaniards had frequently visited the coast of Guiana before Raleigh touched upon it. Even as early as the year 1499, Alonzo de Ojeda and Americus Vesputius had landed in different parts of that coast, and made some excursions up the country. (Herrera, dec. i. lib. iv. cap. 1. 2.) ; and the great Columbus himself had discovered the mouth of the Oronoco some years before. Between three and four hundred Spaniards are said to have been killed by Keymis and his party, at the sacking of St. Thomas. "This is the *true mine* !" said young Raleigh, as he rushed on to the attack ;—"and none but fools looked for any other." Howell's *Letters* vol. ii.

ing overcome all opposition, would now have gone in quest of their grand object, the gold mine, with which Keymis was said to be as well acquainted as Raleigh. But, although that officer affirmed that he was within a few miles of the place, he refused, under the most absurd pretences, to carry his companions thither, or to take any effectual step for again finding it himself. Struck, as it should seem, with the atrocity of his conduct, and with his embarrassing situation, he immediately returned to Raleigh with the sorrowful news of his son's death, and the disappointment of his followers. The interview, it may be conjectured, was not the most agreeable that could have ensued between the parties. Under the strong agitation of mind which it occasioned, Keymis, keenly sensible to reproach, and foreseeing disgrace, if not an ignominious death, as the reward of his violence and imposture, retired into his cabin, and put an end to his life.

The sequel of this delusive and pompous expedition it is still more painful to relate. The adventurers in general now concluded that they were deceived by Raleigh; that the story of the mine had only been invented to afford him a pretext for pillaging St. Thomas, the spoils of which, he hoped, would encourage his followers to proceed to the plunder of other Spanish settlements; that he expected to repair his ruined fortune by such daring enterprises, trusting to the riches he should acquire for obtaining a pardon from James; or, if that prospect failed, intended to take refuge in some foreign country, where his wealth would secure him an asylum²⁵. The inconsiderable booty gained in that town, however, discouraged his followers from embracing these splendid projects, though it appears that he had employed many artifices to engage them in his designs. Besides, they saw a palpable absurdity in a fleet, acting under the sanction of royal authority, committing depredations against the allies of the crown; they therefore thought it safest, whatever might be their inclinations, or how great soever their disappointment, to return immediately to England, and carry their leader with them to answer for his conduct.

On the examination of Raleigh and his companions, before the privy council, where the foregoing facts were brought to light, it appeared that the king's suspicions of his intentions had been well grounded; that, in defiance of his instructions, he had committed hostilities against the subjects of the king of Spain, and had wilfully burned and destroyed a town belonging to that prince; so that he might have been tried either by common law for this act of violence, or by martial law for breach of orders. But it was the opinion of the crown-lawyers, as we learn from

²⁵ See the king's Vindication.

Bacon²⁶, that, as Raleigh still lay under an actual attainder for high treason, he could not be brought to a new trial for any other crime. James, therefore, in order to satisfy the court of Madrid, which was very clamorous on this occasion, signed the warrant for his execution upon his former sentence.

Raleigh's behaviour, since his return, had hitherto been beneath the dignity of his character. He had counterfeited madness and a variety of disorders, with a view of delaying his examination, and procuring the means of escape. But finding his fate inevitable, he now collected all his courage, and met death with the most heroic indifference. Feeling the edge of the axe with which he was to be beheaded, "'Tis a sharp remedy," said he, "but a sure one for all ills!" then calmly laid his head on the block, and received the fatal blow²⁷.

Of all the transactions of a reign distinguished by public discontent, this was perhaps the most odious. Men of every class were filled with indignation against the court. Even such as acknowledged the justice of Raleigh's punishment, blamed the measure. They thought it cruel to execute a sentence, originally severe, and tacitly pardoned, which had been so long suspended; and they considered it as mean and impolitic, even though a new trial had been instituted, to sacrifice to a concealed enemy of England the only man in the kingdom whose reputation was high for valour and military experience.

Unhappily for James, the intimate connexions which he was endeavouring to form with Spain increased the public dissatisfaction. Gondomar, a man capable of the most artful flattery, and no stranger to the king's hereditary pride, had proposed a match between the prince of Wales and the second daughter of his Catholic majesty; and, to render the temptation irresistible to the English monarch, whose necessities were well known, he gave hopes of an immense fortune with the Spanish princess. Allured by the prospect of that alliance, James, it has been affirmed, was not only induced to bring Raleigh to the block, but to abandon his son-in-law the Palatine, and the Protestant interest in Germany, to the ambition of the house of Austria. The latter suspicion completed the odium occasioned by the former, and roused the attention of parliament.

We have formerly had occasion to treat of the conduct and the misfortunes of Frederic, the elector Palatine, who was driven from Bohemia, and dispossessed of his hereditary dominions, by the power of the emperor, supported by the Spanish branch of the house of Austria, in spite of all the efforts of the German Protestants and the Dutch²⁸. A. D. 1620.

²⁶ See Original Letters, &c. published by Dr. Birch, p. 181. ²⁷ Franklin.

²⁸ See Part I. Lett. LXXXVI.

The news of these disasters no sooner reached England than the voice of the nation was loud against the king's inactivity. People of all ranks were on fire to engage in the defence of the distressed Palatine, and rescue their Protestant brethren from the persecutions of the idolatrous Catholics, their implacable and cruel enemies. In this quarrel they would cheerfully have marched to the extremity of Europe, have inconsiderately plunged themselves into a chaos of German politics, and freely have expended the blood and treasure of the kingdom. They therefore regarded James's neutrality as a base desertion of the cause of God and of his holy religion; without reflecting, that their interference in the wars of the continent, however agreeable to pious zeal, could not be justified on any sound maxims of policy.

The king's ideas, relative to this matter, were not more liberal than those of his subjects; but happily, for once, they were more friendly to the welfare of the nation. Shocked at the revolt of a people against their prince, he refused, on that account, to patronise the Bohemian Protestants, or to bestow on his son-in-law the title of king²⁹; although he owned that he had not examined their pretensions, privileges, or constitution. To have withdrawn their allegiance from their sovereign, under any circumstances whatever, was, in his eyes, an enormous crime, and a sufficient reason for withholding all support from them; as if subjects must be ever in the wrong, when they act in opposition to those who have acquired or assumed authority over them, how much soever that authority may have been abused!

The Spanish match is likewise allowed to have had some influence upon the political sentiments of James, on this occasion. He flattered himself that, in consequence of his son's marriage with the infanta, and the close connexions it would form between England and Spain, besides other advantages, the restitution of the Palatinate might be procured from motives of mere friendship. The principal members of the house of commons, however, thought very differently: the projected marriage was the great object of their terror. They saw no good that could result from it, but were apprehensive of a multitude of evils, which, as the guardians of public liberty and general happiness, they thought it their duty to prevent. They accordingly framed a remonstrance to the king, representing the enormous growth of the Austrian power as dangerous to the liberties of Europe, and lamenting the rapid progress of the Catholic religion in England; and they entreated

²⁹ It was a very dangerous precedent, he said, against all Christian kings, to allow the transfer of a crown by the people. *Macaulay*, p. 48.

his majesty instantly to take arms in defence of the Palatine ; to turn his sword against Spain, whose treasures were the chief support of the Catholic interest over Europe ; and to exclude all hope of the toleration or re-establishment of popery in the kingdom, by entering into no negotiation for the marriage of his son Charles, but with a Protestant princess. Yet more effectually to extinguish that idolatrous worship, they requested that the fines and confiscations, to which the Catholics were subject by law, should be levied with the utmost rigour ; and that the children of such as refused to conform to the established worship should be taken from their parents, and committed to the care of Protestant divines and school-masters³⁰.

Without waiting for the offer of these instructions, which militated against his favourite maxims of government, the enraged monarch wrote to the speaker of the house of commons, commanding him to admonish the members, in his majesty's name, not to *presume* to *meddle* with any thing that *regarded* his *government*, or with deep matters of state, as above their reach and capacity ; and especially not to touch on his son's marriage with a daughter of Spain, nor to attack the honour of that king, or any other of his friends and confederates. Conscious of their strength and popularity, the commons were rather roused than intimidated by this imperious letter. With a new remonstrance they returned the former, which had been withdrawn ; and maintained, that they were entitled to *interpose* with their *counsel* in *all matters of government* ; and that a perfect freedom of speech, in their debates on public business, was their *ancient* and *undoubted right*, and an *inheritance* transmitted to them from their *ancestors*³¹.

The king's reply was keen and ready. He told the commons, that their remonstrance was more like a denunciation of war than an address of dutiful and loyal subjects ; that their pretensions to inquire into all state affairs, without exception, was a *plenipotence* to which none of their ancestors, even during the weakest reigns, had ever dared to aspire : and he closed his answer with the following memorable words, which discover a considerable share of political sagacity : “ Although we cannot allow of your style, in mentioning your *ancient* and *undoubted right* and *inheritance*, but would rather have wished that ye had said, that your privileges were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors and us (for the most of them grew from precedents, which show rather a toleration than inheritance ;) yet we are pleased to give you our royal assurance, that, as long as you contain yourselves within the limits of your duty, we will be as careful to maintain and pre-

30 Rushworth, vol i.

31 Rushworth, ubi sup.

serve your lawful liberties and privileges as ever any of our predecessors were, nay, as to preserve our own royal prerogative³²."

Alarmed at this dangerous insinuation, that their privileges were derived from royal favour, the commons framed a protest, in which they opposed pretension to pretension, and declared, "that the liberties, franchises, privileges, and jurisdictions of parliament, were the ancient and undoubted birth-right and inheritance of the subjects of England, and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, state, and defence of the realm, and of the church of England, and the maintenance and making of laws, and redress of grievances, which daily happened within this realm, were proper subjects, and matter, of counsel or debate, in parliament; and that, in the handling and proceeding on these businesses, every member of the house of parliament had, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech to propound, treat, reason, and bring to conclusion the same³³."

Thus, my dear Philip, was fully opened, between the king and parliament, the grand dispute concerning privilege and prerogative, which gave birth to the *court* and *country parties*, and which so long occupied the tongues, the pens, and even swords, of the most able and active men in the nation. Without entering deeply into this dispute (of which you must make yourself master by consulting the controversial writers,) or joining either party, it may be observed, that if our ancestors, from the violent invasion of William the Norman to the period of which we are treating, did not enjoy so perfect, or perhaps so extensive a system of liberty, as since the Revolution of 1688, they were at no time *legally* subject to the rule of an absolute sovereign; and that, although the victorious arms and insidious policy of a foreign and hostile prince obliged them, in the hour of misfortune, to submit to his ambitious sway, and to the tyrannical laws which he afterward thought proper to impose upon the nation, the spirit of liberty was never extinguished in the breasts of Englishmen. They still looked back, with admiration and regret, to their independent condition under their native princes, and to the freedom of their Saxon forefathers; and, as soon as circumstances would permit, they compelled their princes, of the Norman line, to restore to them the most essential of their former laws, privileges, and immunities. These *original rights*, as we have seen, were repeatedly confirmed to them by *charter*; and if they were also frequently violated by encroaching princes, those infractions ought never to be pleaded as precedents, every such violation being a fla-

grant act of injustice and perjury, as every king, by his coronation oath, was solemnly bound to maintain the national charters. Nor did the people, keenly sensible of those injuries and insults, fail to avenge themselves, as often as it was in their power, on the invaders of their liberties, or to take new measures for their future security.

So far we may speak with certainty. But, whether the commons were at first admitted into parliament through the indulgence of the prince, or in consequence of an original right to sit there, and what they claimed as their constitutional province, are points of greater intricacy and less moment. That subject, however, I have had occasion to consider in some former epistles³⁴. It will, therefore, be sufficient here to observe, that the English government was never a mere monarchy; that there was always a parliament or national assembly; and the commons, or third estate, had very early, and as soon as they were of any political importance, a place in that assembly; and that the privileges for which they now contended were necessary to enable them to act with dignity, or indeed in such a manner as to be useful to the community, either in their deliberative or legislative capacity.

The subsequent transactions of this reign were neither numerous nor very important. They afford, however, a picture of the weakness and extravagance of human nature, and therefore merit our attention, as observers of the manners as well as of the policy of nations, and of the vices and follies no less than of the respectable qualities of men.

The Spanish match was still the king's favourite object; and he ordered lord Digby (afterward earl of Bristol),
A. D. 1622. his ambassrdor at the court of Madrid, to recommend and expedite that measure, while he softened at home the severity of the laws against popish recusants. The same religious motives which had hitherto disinclined the Spaniards to the marriage, now disposed them to promote it. They hoped to see the Catholic church freed from persecution, if not the ancient worship re-established in England, by means of the infantia: and so full were they of this idea, that Bristol, a vigilant and discerning minister, assured his master not only that the Palatine would be restored to his dominions, but what was still more agreeable to the needy monarch, that a dowry of two millions of pesos, or about five hundred thousand pounds sterling, would accompany the royal bride³⁵.

³⁴ See Part I. Let. XXIV. XXXI. XXXIII. and XXXVI.

³⁵ Rushworth, vol. i. The marriage and the restitution of the Palatine, we are assured by the most undoubted testimony, were always considered by the court of Spain as inseparable. *Part. Hist.* vol. vi. p. 66.—Franklin, p. 71, 72.

This alliance, however, was still odious to the English nation ; and Buckingham, jealous of the reputation of Bristol, by a most absurd adventure contrived to ruin both him and the negotiation. To ingratiate himself with the prince of Wales, with whose candid turn of mind he was well acquainted, he represented to him the peculiar unhappiness of princes in commonly receiving to their arms an unknown bride—one not endeared by sympathy, or obliged by services, wooed by treaties alone, and attached by no ties but those of political interest ! that it was in his power, by visiting Spain in person, to avoid all these inconveniences, and to lay such an obligation on the infanta, if he found her really worthy of his love, as could not fail to warm the coldest affections ; that his journey to Madrid, so conformable to the generous ideas of Spanish gallantry, would recommend him to the princess under the endearing character of a devoted lover and daring adventurer ; and, at the same time, would afford him a desirable opportunity of choosing for himself, and of examining with his own senses the companion of his future life, and the partner of his bed and throne³⁶.

These arguments made a deep impression on the affectionate temper of Charles. He obtained, in an unguarded hour, his father's consent to the Spanish journey ; and the two adventurers departed, to the great uneasiness of James ; who, as soon as he had leisure for reflection, apprehended bad consequences from the unbridled spirit of Buckingham, and the youth and inexperience of his son. For a time, however, the affairs of the prince of Wales wore a very promising aspect at Madrid. Philip IV. one of the most magnificent monarchs that ever sat on the Spanish throne, paid Charles a visit immediately on his arrival, and expressed the utmost gratitude for the confidence reposed in him. He gave him a golden key, which opened all his apartments, that the prince might, without any introduction, have access to him at all hours. He took the left hand of him on every occasion and in every place, except in the apartments assigned to Charles ; a distinction founded on the most perfect principles of politeness : “ For here,” said Philip, “ you are at home !” He was introduced into the palace with the same pomp and ceremony that attend the kings of Spain at their coronation. All the gaols were thrown open, and all the prisoners received their freedom, as if the most fortunate and honourable event had happened to the monarchy³⁷.

Independent of his enthusiastic gallantry towards the infanta, and the unparalleled confidence which he had placed in the ho-

³⁶ Clarendon, vol. i.

³⁷ Franklin, p. 74.—Cushworth, vol. i.

nour of the Spanish nation by his romantic journey to Madrid, the decent reserve and modest deportment of Charles endeared him to that grave and formal people, and inspired them with the most favourable ideas of his character ; while the bold manner, the unrestrained freedom of discourse, the sallies of passion, the levity and the licentiousness of Buckingham, entailed upon him the odium of the whole court. The grandees could not conceal their surprise, that such an unprincipled young man, who seemed to respect no laws divine or human, should be allowed to obtrude himself into a negotiation, already almost conducted to a happy issue by so able a statesman as the earl of Bristol : and the ministry hinted a doubt of the sufficiency of his powers, as they had not been confirmed by the privy council of England, in order to prevent him from assuming the merit of the matrimonial treaty. He grossly insulted, and publicly quarrelled with, the duke d'Olivarez ; a circumstance that rendered him still more obnoxious to the Spanish courtiers, who contemplated with horror the infanta's future condition, in being exposed to the approaches of such a brutal man³⁸.

Sensible how much he was hated by the Spaniards, and dreading the influence which the court of Madrid would acquire in England, in consequence of the projected marriage, Buckingham resolved to poison the mind of the prince, and, if possible, prevent the nuptials from taking place !—and he effected his purpose. But history has not informed us by what arguments he induced Charles to offer so heinous an affront to the Spanish nation, after such generous treatment, and to the infanta, whom he had gone so far to visit, and for whom he had hitherto expressed the warmest attachment. In regard to those we are totally in the dark. For, although we may conjecture, from his subsequent conduct, that they were of the political kind, we only know with certainty, that when the prince of Wales left Madrid, he was firmly determined to break off the treaty with Spain, notwithstanding all his professions to the contrary ; that, when the duke arrived in England, he ascribed the failure of the negotiation solely to the insincerity and duplicity of the Spaniards ; that, by means of these false representations, to which the king and his son meanly gave their assent, he ingratiated himself with the popular party ; and that the nation eagerly rushed into a war against the Spanish monarchy, to revenge insults which it had never sustained³⁹.

The situation of the earl of Bristol, at the court of Madrid, was now truly pitiable ; nor were the domestic concerns of that court a little distressing, or the English monarch's embarrass-

³⁸ Clarendon, vol. i.—Rushworth, vol. i. ³⁹ Clarendon, vol. i.—Rushworth, vol. i.

ment small. To abandon a project, which had for many years been the chief object of his wishes, and which he had now unexpectedly conducted to so desirable a crisis,—to be embroiled with Spain, and lose two millions of pesos,—were prospects by no means agreeable to the pacific temper and indigent condition of James: but finding his only son averse to a match which had always been odious to his people, and opposed by his parliament, he yielded to difficulties which he wanted courage or strength of mind to overcome.

It was now the business of Charles and the duke to seek for pretences, by which they might give some appearance of justice to their intended breach of treaty. They accordingly employed many artifices, in order to delay or prevent the espousals: and all these proving ineffectual, Bristol at last received positive orders not to deliver the proxy which had been left in his hands, before security should be given for the full restitution of the Palatinate⁴⁰. The king of Spain understood this language. He was acquainted with Buckingham's disgust, and had expected that the violent disposition and unbounded influence of that favourite would leave nothing unattempted to produce a rupture. Resolving, however, to demonstrate to all Europe the sincerity of his intentions, and to throw the blame where it was due, he delivered into Bristol's hands a written promise, binding himself to procure the restoration of the elector Palatine. And when he found that this concession gave no satisfaction to the court of England, he ordered the infanta to lay aside the title of princess of Wales, which she had borne after the arrival of the dispensation from Rome, and to drop the study of the English language; commanding, at the same time, preparations for war to be made throughout his extensive dominions⁴¹.

Bristol, who, during Charles's residence in Spain, had always opposed, though unsuccessfully, his own wise and well-tempered counsels to the impetuous measures suggested by Buckingham; and who, even after the prince's departure, had strenuously insisted on the sincerity of the Spaniards in the conduct of the treaty, as well as on the advantages which England must reap from the completion of it; was enraged to find his zealous labours rendered abortive by the levities and caprices of an insolent minion. But he was not surprised to hear that the favourite had afterward declared himself his open enemy, and had thrown out many injurious reflections against him, both before the council and parliament. Conscious, however, of his own innocence, Bristol prepared to leave Madrid on the

first order to that purpose; although Philip, sorry that this minister's enemies should have so far prevailed as to infuse prejudices into his master and his country against a servant who had so faithfully discharged his duty to both, entreated him to fix his residence in Spain, where he should enjoy all the advantages of rank and fortune, rather than expose himself to the rancorous malice of his rival, and the ungovernable fury of the English populace.

The ambassador's reply was truly magnanimous. While he expressed the utmost gratitude for that princely offer, he thought himself obliged, he said, to decline it; that nothing would more confirm all the calumnies of his enemies than remaining at Madrid; and that the highest dignity in the Spanish monarchy would be but a poor compensation for the loss of that honour, which he must endanger by such exaltation. Charmed with this answer, Philip begged the earl at least to accept a present of ten thousand ducats, which might be requisite for his support, until he could dissipate the calumnies of his enemies; observing at the same time, that his compliance might be for ever concealed from the knowledge both of his master and the public. "There is one person," replied the generous nobleman, "who must necessarily know it: he is the earl of Bristol, who will certainly reveal it to the king of England⁴²!"

The king was unworthy of such a servant. The earl, on his return, was immediately committed to the Tower. In vain did he demand an opportunity of justifying himself, and of laying his whole conduct before his master. Buckingham
A. D. 1624. and the prince of Wales were inexorable, unless he would acknowledge his misconduct; a proposal which his high spirit rejected with disdain. After being released from confinement, he was therefore ordered to retire to his country seat, and to abstain from all attendance in parliament⁴³.

In consequence of the rupture with Spain, and the hostile disposition of the parliament, the king entered into a confederacy with the French and the Dutch, for repressing the ambition of the house of Austria, and recovering the Palatinate. A treaty of marriage was about the same time negotiated between the prince of Wales and Henrietta of France, sister to Louis

⁴² Franklin, p. 86.

⁴³ Rushworth, vol. i.—James perhaps is more to be pitied than blamed for his ungenerous treatment of Bristol, after his return. Supported by the prince of Wales, as well as by the popular party in parliament, Buckingham exercised the most imperious despotism over the king, always timid, and now in the decline of life. Yet when the duke insisted on the earl's signing a confession of his misconduct, as the only means of regaining favour at court, James had the spirit and the equity to say, that it was "a horrible tyranny to make an innocent man declare himself guilty."

XIII., an accomplished princess, whom Charles had seen and admired in his way to Madrid, and who retained, during his whole life, a dangerous ascendancy over him, by means of his too tender and affectionate heart⁴⁴.

This match was highly agreeable to James ; who, although well acquainted with the antipathy of his subjects to any alliance with Catholics, persevered in a romantic opinion, suggested by hereditary pride, that his son would be degraded by receiving into his bed a princess of less than royal extraction⁴⁵. He did not live, however, to witness the celebration of the nuptials ; but died in the fifty-ninth year of his age, soon after the armament under Count Mansfeld had put to sea for the recovery of the Palatinate⁴⁶. March 27, 1625.

That James was contemptible as a monarch must perhaps be allowed ; but that he was so as a man, can by no means be admitted. His disposition was friendly, his temper benevolent, and his humour gay. He possessed a considerable share of learning and abilities, but wanted that vigour of mind, and dignity of manner, which are essential to form a respectable sovereign. His spirit, rather than his understanding, was weak ; and perhaps only the loftiness of his pretensions, contrasted with the smallness of his kingly power, could have exposed him to ridicule, notwithstanding the ungracefulness of his person, and the gross familiarity of his conversation. His turn of mind inclined him to promote the arts, both useful and ornamental ; and that peace which he loved, and so timidly courted, was favourable to industry and commerce. It may therefore be confidently affirmed, that in no preceding period of the English monarchy was there a more sensible increase of all the advantages which distinguish a flourishing people than during the reign of this despised prince.

Of seven children, borne to him by Anne of Denmark, James left only one son, Charles I., and one daughter, Elizabeth, the unfortunate wife of the elector Palatine.—We must carry for-

44 A secret passion for this princess had perhaps induced Charles, unknown to himself, to listen to the arguments of Buckingham, for breaking of the Spanish match ; and, if the duke had discovered that passion, he would not fail to make use of it for accomplishing his purpose. Such a supposition forms the best apology for Charles's conduct in regard to the infant.

45 Rushworth, vol. i.

46 The troops under Mansfeld's command embarked at Dover ; but, sailing over to Calais, he found that no orders had been sent from court for their admission. After waiting in vain for such orders, he sailed towards Zealand, where the troops were likewise detained, as proper measures had not been taken for their debarkation. Meanwhile a pestilential distemper had broken out among the English soldiers, so long cooped up in narrow vessels. One half of the men died while on board ; and the other half, weakened by sickness, appeared too feeble a body to march into the Palatinate. Rushworth, vol. i.—Franklin, p. 104.

ward the history of our own island, my dear Philip, to the catastrophe of Charles, before we return to the affairs of the continent.

LETTER III.

Continuation of the History of England, from the Accession of Charles I. to the Assassination of the Duke of Buckingham, in 1628.

A. D. 1625. AS Charles and the Duke of Buckingham, by breaking off the Spanish match, and engaging the nation in a war for the recovery of the Palatinate, had acquired the favour of the popular party in the house of commons, the young king was eager to meet the representatives of his people, that he might have an opportunity of showing himself to them in his new character, and of receiving a testimony of their dutiful attachment. Thus confident of the affection of his subjects, and not doubting that the parliament would afford him a liberal and voluntary supply, he employed no intrigue to influence the votes of the members. In his speech from the throne he slightly mentioned the exigencies of the state, but would not suffer the officers of the crown, who had seats in the house, to name or solicit any particular sum; he left the whole to the generosity of the commons. But the commons had no generosity for Charles. Never was prince more deceived by placing confidence in any body of men. Though they knew that he was burthened with a large debt, contracted by his father; that he was engaged in a difficult and expensive war with the whole house of Austria; that this war was the result of their own importunate solicitations and entreaties; and that they had solemnly engaged to yield the necessary supplies for the support of it;—in order to answer all these great and important ends, and demonstrate their affection to their young sovereign, they granted him only two subsidies, amounting to about a hundred and twelve thousand pounds.

The causes of this excessive parsimony deserve to be traced. It is in vain to say, that, as war, during the feudal times, was supported by men, not money, the commons were not yet accustomed to open their purses. As the heads of the country party, sir Edward Coke, sir Edwin Sandys, sir Robert Philips, sir

Francis Seymour, Sir Dudley Digges, sir John Elliot, sir Thomas Wentworth, Mr. Selden, and Mr. Pym, were men of great talents and enlarged views, they must have been sensible, that, the feudal militia being new laid aside, naval and military enterprises could not be conducted without money. We must therefore look deeper for the motives of this cruel mockery of their young king, on his first appearance in parliament, and when his necessities, and the honour, if not the interest of the nation, seemed to call for the most liberal supply.

These enlightened patriots, animated with a warm love of liberty, saw with regret a too extensive authority exercised by the crown, and regardless of former precedents, were determined to seize the opportunity which the present crisis might afford them of restraining the royal prerogative within more reasonable bounds, and securing the privileges of the people by more firm and precise barriers than the constitution had hitherto provided for them. They accordingly resolved to grant no supplies to their necessitous prince without extorting proportional concessions in favour of civil liberty. And how ungenerous soever such a conduct might seem, they conceived that it was fully justified by the beneficent end they had in view. The means were regular and constitutional. To grant or refuse supplies, was the undoubted privilege of the commons; and as all human governments, especially those of a mixed kind, are in continual fluctuation, it was, in their opinion, as natural and allowable for popular assemblies to take advantage of favourable conjunctures, in order to secure the rights of the subject, as for sovereigns to make use of such occasions for the extension of the royal authority.

Beside these general arguments, the commons had reasons of a particular and personal nature, which induced them to be sparing in their aids to the crown. Though Buckingham, in order to screen himself from the resentment of James, who was enraged at his breaking off the Spanish match, had affected popularity, and entered into cabals with the puritans, they were always doubtful of his sincerity. Now secure of the confidence of Charles, he had realized their suspicions, by abandoning them; and was, on that account, the distinguished object of their hatred, as well as of their fears. They saw, with terror and concern, the whole power of administration grasped by his ambitious hand; while he governed his master more absolutely than he had influenced even the late king, and possessed in his single person the most considerable offices of the state. The rest were chiefly occupied by his numerous flatterers and dependants, whom his violent temper prompted him to raise suddenly to the

highest point of elevation, and to throw down, on the least occasion of displeasure, with equal impetuosity and violence.—Disgusted with the failure of the expedition under Mansfeld, the commons were of opinion, that such ministers were not to be trusted with the management of a war, how laudable soever its object; for, allowing, what was very improbable, that success should attend their measures, the event was not less to be dreaded. A conquering army, in the hands of unprincipled men, might prove as dangerous to freedom as an invasion from a foreign enemy. Religion, at least, would be exposed to the utmost peril; religion, already insulted by the appearance of popish priests in their vestments, and the relaxation of the laws against recusants, in consequence of the alliance with France¹, at a time when the peace of many an honest mind was disturbed by being obliged to conform to the more decent ceremonies of the church of England, and when many a bold heart trembled at the sight of a surplice.

Influenced by these reasonings, however justifiable the commons might think their parsimony, it appeared in a very different light to Charles. He at first considered it as the offspring of spleen against Buckingham, and, as such, ungenerous and cruel; but when he perceived that it proceeded from a purpose of abridging his prerogative, which he thought already too limited, he regarded that purpose as highly criminal. As he cherished very lofty ideas of monarchical power, an attempt to circumscribe his authority seemed to him little less than a conspiracy against the throne. As the plague at that time raged in London, he re-assembled the parliament at Oxford; and laying aside that delicacy which he had hitherto observed, he endeavoured to draw from the commons a more liberal supply, by making them fully acquainted with the state of his affairs, with the debts of the crown, the expenses of the war, the steps he had taken, and the engagements into which he had entered for conducting it. But all his arguments and entreaties were fruitless; the commons remained inexorable. They obstinately refused any farther assistance; though it was known that a fleet and army were lying at Portsmouth in want of pay and provisions, and that Buckingham and the treasurer of the navy had advanced, on their own credit, near a hundred thousand pounds for the sea service². They answered him only by vexatious petitions and complaints of grievances.

Aug. 12. Enraged at such obstinacy, Charles dissolved the parliament, and attempted to raise money by other

¹ A chapel at Somerset-house had been built for the queen and her family, with conveniences adjoining for Capuchin friars, who had permission to walk abroad in their religious habit. Rushworth, vol. i.

² Parliamentary Hist. vol. vi. p. 390.

means. He had recourse to the old expedient of forcing a loan from the subject. For this purpose privy seals were issued; and, by sums so raised, he was enabled, though with difficulty, to equip his fleet. It consisted of eighty sail, including transports and some Dutch ships, and carried an army of ten thousand men. The chief command was entrusted to the viscount Wimbledon, lately sir Edward Cecil, one of Buckingham's creatures. He sailed directly for Cadiz, and found the bay full of Spanish ships of great value; yet these, through misconduct, were suffered to escape. The troops were landed, and a fort was taken. But that being found of small consequence, and an epidemical disease having broken out among the soldiers and sailors, occasioned by the immoderate use of new wine, Wimbledon re-embarked his forces; and after cruising off Cape St. Vincent, but without success, in hopes of intercepting the Spanish plate-fleet, he returned to England, with his sickly crew, to the great dissatisfaction of the nation³.

The failure of an enterprise from which he expected so much treasure obliged Charles again to call a parliament, and lay his necessities before the commons. They A. D. 1626. immediately voted him three subsidies and three fifteenths, and afterward added one subsidy; yet the sum was still very inadequate to the exigencies of the state and little fitted to promote the ambitious views of the young king. But the scantiness of this supply was not the most mortifying circumstances attending it. The commons, in the first instance, only voted it; and reserved, to the end of the session, the power of giving that vote the sanction of a law. In the mean time, under colour of redressing grievances, they proceeded in regulating and controlling every part of government; and it required no deep penetration to perceive, that, if the king obstructed their measures, or refused compliance with their demands, he must expect no aid from parliament. Though Charles expressed great displeasure at this conditional mode of supply, as well as at the political inquiries of the commons, his pressing wants obliged him to submit, and wait with patience the issue of their deliberations⁴.

In order to strike at the root of all their grievances, the commons took a step little expected by the king or his minister.—They proceeded to impeach the duke of Buckingham, who had long been odious to the nation, and became more so every day by his arrogant behaviour, the uncontrolled ascendancy which he maintained over his master, and the pernicious counsels which he was supposed to have dictated. The union of many

³ Rushworth, vol. i.—Franklin, p. 113.

⁴ Parl. Hist. vol. vi.

offices in his person, his acceptance of extensive grants from the crown, and the influence which he had used for procuring many titles of honour for his kindred—the chief articles of accusation exhibited against him—might perhaps be considered as grievances, and might justly inspire with resentment such as thought they had a right to share in the honours and employments of the state, but could not, in the eye of the law, be considered as sufficient grounds for an impeachment. Charles, therefore, thinking the duke's whole guilt consisted in being his friend and favourite, rashly resolved to support him at all hazards, regardless of the fate of the conditional supply, or the clamours of the public⁵.

The lord-keeper, in the king's name, desired the commons not to meddle with his minister and servant; and a message was also sent to them, that, if they did not speedily furnish his majesty with supplies, he would be obliged to try NEW COUNCILS. They went on, however, with their impeachment of the duke; though sir John Elliot and sir Dudley Digges, two of the members who had been employed to conduct it, were sent to the Tower. And the majority of the house, after this insult, declared they would proceed no further upon business until they were righted in their privileges; and Charles, ever ready to adopt violent counsels, but wanting firmness to persevere in them, finding he had acted with too much precipitancy, ordered the members to be set at liberty⁶. Thus irritated but not intimidated by a prince who had discovered his weakness and imprudence, the commons, regardless of the public necessities, continued their inquiries into the conduct of Buckingham; but not being able to fix any crime upon him, that could be legally brought under the denomination of high treason, they drew up a petition for removing him from his majesty's person and councils, as an unwise and dangerous minister⁷.

From the affectionate and respectful style of that petition we may almost presume, that, if Charles had complied with the request of the commons, by renouncing all future connexion with the duke, a good understanding might yet have been established between the king and parliament, and all the horrors of civil war prevented; for, if the pretensions of the commons afterwards exceeded the line of the constitution, these extravagant pretensions were roused by the arbitrary proceedings of the crown, which excited a hatred to royal authority, and a desire of recrimination, which at last proved fatal to the monarchy. It may indeed be urged, on the other side, that the arbitrary

proceedings of the crown were occasioned by the obstinacy of the parliament ; that Charles had no desire of oppressing his subjects, how high soever his ideas of prerogative might be ; and would never have attempted any unconstitutional measure, if the commons had furnished him with the necessary and reasonable supplies. Both parties were therefore to blame, and perhaps equally ; yet I am inclined to believe that the commons were sincere, when they made this solemn declaration to the king, at the close of a remonstrance that followed their petition:

“ We profess in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of all hearts, that you are as highly esteemed and beloved as ever any of your predecessors were !” And, after entreating him to dismiss Buckingham from his presence, they thus apologise for their parsimony :—“ We protest to your majesty and to the whole world, that, until this great person be removed from intermeddling with the great affairs of state, we are out of hope of any good success ; and do fear that any money we shall or can give, will, through his misemployment, be turned rather to the prejudice of this your kingdom than otherwise, as, by lamentable experience, we have found in those large supplies formerly and lately given. But no sooner shall we receive redress and relief in *this*, which of all others is our most insupportable grievance, but we shall forthwith proceed to accomplish your majesty’s own desire for supply ; and likewise, with all cheerfulness, apply ourselves to the perfecting of divers other great things, such as we think no one parliament in one age can parallel, tending to the stability, wealth, strength, and honour of this your kingdom, and the support of your friends and allies abroad^s.”

Enraged at this second attempt to deprive him of his minister and favourite, Charles paid no regard to the prayer of the commons, or to his loss of supply, the necessary consequence of denying it, but immediately prepared to dissolve the parliament, in order to avoid any farther importunity on a subject so ungrateful to his ear. “ What idea,” said he, “ must all mankind entertain of my honor, should I sacrifice my innocent friend to pecuniary considerations ?”—But, even if this friend and servant had been more innocent, and more able, than we find him to have been, it was the king’s duty, as well as his interest, to dismiss his minister from all public employments, at the request of the representative body of his subjects. For, as the commons very justly observed in their remonstrance, “ the relations between a sovereign and his people do far transcend, and are more prevalent and binding than any relation of a master towards his servant ; and consequently to hear and satisfy the

just and necessary desires of his people is more honourable to a prince than any expressions of grace to a servant⁹."

Instead of listening to such respectful arguments, Charles, by persevering in his support of Buckingham, involved himself, in the opinion of the nation, in all his favourite's crimes, whether real or imputed. Among these was a charge of having applied to the late king's side, without the knowledge of his physicians, a plaster which was supposed to have been the cause of his death; an accusation which, if Charles had believed it to be just, would have loosened all the ties of affection to Buckingham, and which he would have prosecuted to the utmost. Yet were there people wicked enough to suppose, from the king's blind attachment to the duke, that he had been privy to such an atrocious crime. His adherence to this worthless man was indeed so strong as to exceed all belief. When the house of peers, whose compliant behaviour surely entitled them to some influence with him, requested that he would let the parliament sit June 15. a little longer, he hastily replied, "Not a moment longer¹⁰!" and instantly closed the session by a dissolution.

In this alarming crisis of his affairs, as he did not choose to resign his minister, the only rational counsel which Charles could pursue was immediately to conclude a peace with Spain; and, by that prudent measure, to render himself as independent as possible of the parliament, which seemed determined to take advantage of his necessities, in order to abridge his authority. Nothing could be more easy, more consistent with national interest, or more agreeable to his own wish; but the violent and impetuous Buckingham, inflamed with a desire of revenge for injuries which he himself had committed, and animated with a love of glory, which he wanted talents to acquire, persuaded his too facile master to continue the war, though he had not been able to procure him the constitutional means of supporting it. Those *new counsels*, which Charles had mentioned to the parliament, were therefore now to be tried, in order to supply his exigencies: and so high an idea had he conceived of kingly power, and so contemptible an opinion of the rights of national assemblies, that, if he had possessed a military force on which he could have depended, there is reason to believe he would at once have laid aside all reserve, and attempted to govern without any regard to parliamentary privileges¹¹. But, being destitute of such a force, he was obliged to cover his violences under the sanction of ancient precedents, collected from all the tyrannical reigns since the Norman conquest.

⁹ Parl. Hist. vol. vii.

¹⁰ Sanderson's Life of Charles I.

¹¹ This is the opinion of Mr. Hume, who will not be suspected of traducing the character of Charles.

The people, however, were too keen-sighted not to perceive that examples can never alter the nature of injustice. They therefore complained loudly of the benevolences and loans which were extorted from them under various forms ; and these complaints were increased by a commission, which was openly issued, for compounding with popish recusants, and dispensing, for a sum of money, with the penal laws enacted against them¹². While the nation was in this dissatisfied humour, intelligence arrived of the defeat of the Protestants in Germany, in whose army were about 5000 English, by the imperial forces. A general loan from the subject was now exacted, equal to the four subsidies and three fifteenths voted by the last parliament ; and many respectable persons were thrown into prison for refusing to pay their assessments. Most of them patiently submitted to confinement, or applied by petition to the king, who generally released them. Five gentlemen alone, namely, sir Thomas Darnel, sir John Corbet, sir Walter Earl, sir John Heveningham, and sir Edward Hampden, had resolution enough to demand their release, not as a favour from the prince, but as their right by the laws of their country¹³.

On examination, it was found that these gentlemen had been arbitrarily committed by the king and council, without the allegation of any cause for such commitment. The question was brought to a solemn trial in the court of King's Bench ; and in the course of the debates it appeared incontestably to the nation that our ancestors had been so jealous of personal liberty as to secure it against absolute power in the prince, not only by an article in the GREAT CHARTER itself, the sacred basis of the laws and constitution, but by six statutes besides¹⁴. As there were many precedents, however, of the violation of those statutes, the judges, obsequious to the court, A. D. 1627. refused to release the prisoners, or to admit them to bail¹⁵.

The cry was now loud that the nation was reduced to slavery. The liberty of the subject was violated for refusing to submit to an illegal imposition ! Nor was this the only arbitrary measure of which the people had reason to complain. The troops that had returned from the fruitless expedition against Cadiz were dispersed over the kingdom, and billeted upon private families, contrary to established custom, which required that they should be quartered at inns and public houses. And all persons of substance, who had refused or delayed the loan, were sure to be loaded with a disproportionate number of these dis-

¹² Rushworth, vol. i.

¹³ Id. *ibid*.

¹⁴ 25 Edw. III. cap. iv. 28 Edw. III. cap. iii. 37 Edw. III. cap. xviii. 38 Edw. III. cap. ix. 42 Edw. III. cap. iii. 1 Rich. II. cap. xii.

¹⁵ Rushworth, vol. i.

orderly guests ; while people of inferior condition, who had manifested an incomplicant spirit, were pressed into the sea or land service¹⁶. Every one, in a word, seemed to feel the public grievances, and to execrate the oppressive spirit of administration, though passive obedience was strongly recommended from the pulpit ; and the crimes and outrages, committed by the soldiers, contributed to increase the general discontent.

In the midst of these alarming dissatisfactions and increasing difficulties, when baffled in every attempt against the dominions of the two branches of the house of Austria, and embroiled with his own subjects, what was the surprise of mankind to see Charles, as if he had not yet a sufficient number of enemies, engage in a war against France ! Unable to account for so extraordinary a measure, historians have generally ascribed it to an amorous quarrel between cardinal Richelieu and the duke of Buckingham, on account of a rival passion for the queen of France, and the encouragement which the duke had received, when employed to bring over the princess Henrietta, which induced him to project a new embassy to that court, as I have formerly had occasion to relate¹⁷. But, however that might be, Buckingham had other reasons for involving his master in a war with France.

One of the articles of impeachment against the duke, and that which had excited the greatest odium, was the sending of some English ships to assist the French king in subduing his Protestant subjects. To this impolitic and inhuman measure Buckingham had been seduced by a promise, that as soon as the Huguenots were reduced, Louis would take an active part in the war against the house of Austria. But afterward, finding himself deceived by Richelieu, who had nothing in view but the aggrandisement of the French monarchy, he procured a peace for the Huguenots, and became a security to them for its performance. That peace, however, was not observed, as Richelieu was intent on the ruin of the Protestant party in France. Such an event, it was readily foreseen, would render France more formidable to England than the whole house of Austria. Besides, if Charles and Buckingham should supinely behold the ruin of the Huguenots accomplished, such conduct would increase the popular discontents, and render the breach between the king and parliament irreparable. It was therefore resolved, as the only means of recovering any degree of credit with the people, and of curbing at the same time the power of an ambitious rival, to undertake the defence of the French Protestants.

A negotiation was accordingly adjusted with Soubise, who was at that time in London ; and an armament was fitted out

¹⁶ Rushworth, vol. i.

¹⁷ Part I. Let. LXXVI.

under the command of the duke of Buckingham, the most unpopular man in the kingdom, and utterly unacquainted with naval or military service. The fate of the expedition was such as might have been expected from *his* management : but, as I before stated the chief particulars¹⁸, I shall not trouble you with a repetition.

The public grievances were now so great, that an insurrection was to be apprehended. The people were not only loaded with illegal taxes, but their commerce, which had been injured by the Spanish, was nearly ruined by the French war ; while the glory of the nation was tarnished by unsuccessful enterprises, and its safety threatened by the forces of two powerful monarchies. At such a season, Charles and Buckingham must have dreaded, above all things, the calling of a parliament ; yet the improvidence of the ministry, the necessity of supply, and the danger of forcing another loan, obliged them to have recourse to that expedient. In order to wipe off, if possible, the popular odium from the duke, it was represented as his motion ; and still farther to dispose the commons to co-operate with the minister, warrants were sent to all parts of the kingdom, for the relief of those gentlemen A. D. 1628. who had been confined on account of refusing to contribute toward the late loan. Their number amounted to seventy-eight, and many of them were elected members of the new parliament¹⁹.

When the commons assembled, the court perceived that they were men of the same independent spirit with their predecessors, and so opulent, that their property March 17. was computed to surpass three times that of the house of peers²⁰. But although enraged at the violations of public liberty, at personal injuries, and at the extreme folly with which public measures were conducted, to the disgrace, and even danger of the nation, they entered upon business with no less temper and decorum than vigour and ability. From a knowledge of the king's political opinions, as well as from his speech at their meeting, in which he told them, "that if they did not do their duty, in contributing to the relief of the public necessities, he must use those *other means*, which God had put into his hands," they foresaw, that, if any pretence should be afforded, he would immediately dissolve the parliament, and thinking himself thenceforth justified in violating, in a manner still more open, all the ancient forms of the constitution. But the decency which the popular leaders had prescribed to themselves, in order to avoid the calamities of civil war, which must have been the immediate consequence of a new breach between the king

¹⁸ See the Letter last referred to

¹⁹ Rushworth, vol. i.

²⁰ Rushworth, vol. i.

and parliament, did not prevent them from taking into consideration the grievances under which the nation had lately laboured—the billeting of soldiers, the imposing of arbitrary taxes, the imprisoning of those who refused to comply, and the refusal of bail on a writ of *habeas corpus*. Nor did they fail to express themselves with a proper degree of indignation on these subjects.

“This is the great council of the kingdom,” said sir Francis Seymour, who opened the debate; “and here, if not here alone, his majesty may see, as in a true glass, the state of the kingdom. We are called hither by his majesty’s writs, in order to give him faithful counsel; such as may stand with his honour; and this we must do without flattery. We are also sent hither by the people, in order to deliver their just grievances; and this we must do without fear. Let us not act like Cambyses’ judges, who, when questioned by their prince concerning some illegal measures, replied *though there is a written law, the Persian kings may do what they list!* This was a base flattery, fitter for our own reproof than imitation; and as fear, so flattery taketh away the judgment. For my part, I shall shun both; and speak my mind with as much duty as any man to his majesty, without neglecting the public. But how can we express affection, while we retain our fears; or speak of giving, till we know whether we have any thing left to give? For if his majesty may be persuaded to take what he will, what occasion have we to give? That this hath been done, appears by the billeting of soldiers, a thing nowise advantageous to the king’s service, and a burthen to the commonwealth; by the imprisonment of gentlemen for refusing the loan, yet who, if they had done the contrary from fear, had been as blameable as the projectors of that oppressive measure. And to countenance these proceedings, hath it not been preached, or rather prated, in the pulpit, that all we have is the king’s by divine right?”

“I have read,” said sir Robert Philips, “of a custom among the old Romans, that once every year they held a solemn festival, during which their slaves had liberty, without exception, to speak what they would, in order to ease their afflicted minds; and that, on the conclusion of the festival, they returned to their former abject condition. This may, with some resemblance and distinction, well set forth our present state. After the revolution of some time, and the grievous sufferings of many violent oppressions, we have now, as those slaves had, a day of liberty of speech: but we shall not, I trust, be hereafter slaves; for we are BORN FREE! Yet what

illegal burthens our estates and persons have groaned under, my heart yearns to think, my tongue falters to utter.

“The grievances by which we are oppressed,” continued he, “I draw under two heads; acts of power against law, and the judgments of lawyers against our liberty.” He then mentioned three illegal judgments passed within his memory; that by which the Scots born after the accession of James I. were admitted to all the privileges of English subjects²¹; that by which the new impositions had been warranted; and that by which arbitrary imprisonments were authorised. After this enumeration, he thus proceeded:

“I can live, although another, who has no right, be put to live along with me; nay, I can live, though burthened with impositions beyond what at present I bear; but to have my liberty, which is the soul of my life, taken from me by power; to have my person pent up in a gaol, without remedy by law, and to be so adjudged—O improvident ancestors! O unwise forefathers! to be so curious in providing for the quiet possession of our lands, and the liberties of parliament, and at the same time so negligent of our personal liberty; to let us lie in prison, and that during pleasure, without remedy or redress! If this be law, why do we talk of liberties? why trouble ourselves with disputes about a constitution, franchises, property in goods, and the like? What may any man call his own, if not the liberty of his person?

“I am weary,” added he, “of treading these ways, and therefore conclude to select a committee, in order to frame a petition to his majesty for redress of our grievances.”

The same subject was pursued by Sir Thomas Wentworth, who exclaimed, “We must vindicate!—What? New things?—No: our ancient legal and vital liberties, by reinforcing the laws enacted by our ancestors: by setting such a stamp upon them, that no licentious spirit shall dare henceforth to invade them²².”

The commons accordingly proceeded to frame a PETITION OF RIGHT, as they chose to call it; indicating by this name, that it contained a corroboration or explanation of the ancient constitution, not any infringement of royal prerogative, or acquisition of new liberties. And Charles, finding that his threats had neither awed them into submission, nor provoked them to

²¹ He pays the Scots a handsome compliment, at the same time that he blames the act:—“A nation,” says he, “which I heartily love for their singular *good zeal* in our religion, and their *free spirit* to preserve liberty far beyond any of us,” *Parl. Hist.* vol. vii.

²² Rushworth, vol. i.—*Parl. Hist.* vol. vii.

indecent freedom of speech, thought fit to send a conciliatory message, intimating that he esteemed the grievances of the house his own, and stood not on precedence in point of honour. He therefore desired, that the same committee which was appointed for the redress of grievances might also undertake the business of supply. Pleased with this concession, the commons voted him five subsidies; with which, though much inferior to his wants, he seemed to be satisfied; and declared, with tears of affection in his eyes, “that he liked parliaments at first; though lately, he knew not how, he had gotten a distaste of them, but was now where he was before: he loved them, and should rejoice to meet his people again²³.”

When Charles made this declaration, he was not fully acquainted with the extent of the Petition of Right, and therefore afterwards attempted to qualify or evade it; but, as it was intimately connected with the vote of supply, which was altogether conditional, he was at last constrained to give his solemn sanction to the bill. This reluctance to a ratification of the June 7. rights of the people deprived his assent of all claim to merit in the eyes of the commons. They justly considered it as the effect of necessity, not complaisance, and became even more suspicious of the king’s designs against the constitution. They therefore proceeded to require the redress of many inferior grievances not mentioned in their petition, which provided only against forced loans, benevolences, taxes without consent of parliament, arbitrary imprisonment, the billeting of soldiers, and martial law: and they took into consideration the duties of tonnage and poundage, which had not yet been granted by parliament. To levy these duties without their consent, they affirmed, was a palpable violation of the ancient liberties of the people, and an open infringement of the Petition of Right, in which those liberties were so lately confirmed²⁴. Alarmed at such an unexpected attack upon his prerogative, Charles prorogued the parliament, to prevent the presentation of a remonstrance which the house had prepared on the subject²⁵.

23 Parl. Hist. vol. vii.

24 Rushworth, vol. i.

25 Journ. 26 June, 1628.—Nothing tends more to excuse, if not to justify, the extreme rigour of the commons against Charles, than his open encouragement of such principles as are altogether incompatible with a limited government. Dr. Mainwaring had preached a sermon, which the commons found upon enquiry, to be printed by special command of the king; and this sermon, when examined, was observed to contain doctrines subversive of all civil liberty. It taught, that, although property was commonly lodged in the subject, yet all property was transferred to the sovereign whenever any exigency required supply; that the consent of parliament was not necessary for the imposition of taxes; and that the divine laws required compliance with every demand, how irregular soever, which the prince should make upon his people, (Rushworth, vol. i.—Parl. Hist. viii.) For these doctrines the commons impeached Mainwaring; and the sentence pronounced against him by the

In the hope of conciliating the affections of the public, by making a popular use of the supply which had been granted to him, as well as recovering the reputation of his arms, Charles turned his eyes, during the recess of parliament, toward the distressed Protestants in France. Rochelle was now closely besieged by land; and the royalists were preparing, by a mole, to cut off all communication with it by sea. To the relief of that place the earl of Denbigh was despatched, with ten ships of the line, and fifty transports and victuallers; but by an unaccountable complication of cowardice and incapacity, if not treachery, he returned without even affording the besieged a supply of provisions. To wipe off this disgrace, the duke of Buckingham, whom we have already seen make so despicable a figure as a commander, repaired to Portsmouth, where he had prepared a considerable fleet and army, in the hope of again displaying his prowess on the coast of France, and defeating the ambitious designs of Richelieu, his competitor in love, in politics, and even in war.

But this enterprise was obstructed, and the relief of Rochelle prevented, by one stroke of a desperate enthusiast, named Felton, who had served under Buckingham as a lieutenant in his former expedition. Disgusted at the refusal of a company, on the death of his captain, who was killed in the retreat from the Isle of Rhé, Felton had retired from the army. While private resentment was boiling in his breast, he met with a recent remonstrance of the commons, in which the man whom he hated was represented as the cause of all the grievances under which the nation groaned, more especially of those relating to religion. Naturally vindictive, gloomy, and enthusiastical, he was led to suppose, that he should do an acceptable service to Heaven, at the same time that he gratified the impulse of his own envenomed heart, if he should despatch this enemy of God and his country. Full of his purpose, he hastened to Portsmouth at the same time with the duke, and watched for an opportunity of perpetrating the bloody deed.

peers imported, that he should be imprisoned during the pleasure of the house, be fined in the sum of one thousand pounds, make submission and acknowledgment for his offence, be suspended during three years, be incapable of holding any ecclesiastical dignity or secular office, and that his book should be called in, and burned. But no sooner was the session ended, than this man, so justly obnoxious to both houses of parliament and to the whole nation, received a pardon, was promoted to a living of considerable value, and raised, some years after, to the see of St. Asaph.—Charles's arbitrary principles were not, like those of his father, merely speculative. Among other grievances, which seemed to require redress, the commons applied for cancelling a commission granted to the principal officers of the crown, by which they were empowered to meet, and to concert among themselves the methods of levying money by impositions or otherwise; “where *form* and *circumstance*,” as expressed in the commission, “must be dispensed with rather than the *substance* be lost or hazarded.” This, in a word, was a scheme for finding expedients which might raise the prerogative to the greatest height, and render the parliament wholly unnecessary.

Such an occasion soon offered. While Buckingham was engaged in conversation with Soubise and other French gentlemen relative to the state of Rochelle, a difference of sentiment arose, which produced from the foreigners some violent gesticulations, and vehement exertions of voice, but nothing that could be seriously considered as an insult. Scarcely was this conversation, ended, when the duke, turning round to speak to Sir Thomas Fryar, was stabbed in the breast with a knife. "The villain has killed me!"—cried he, and, pulling out the knife, expired without uttering another word. Nobody had seen the stab given; but every one concluded that the murder had been committed by the French gentlemen, the violence of whose voices and gestures had been remarked, while their words were not understood by the by-standers; and, in the first transports of revengeful rage, they would instantly have been put to death by the duke's attendants, if some men of temper and judgment had not interposed, though by no means convinced of their innocence.

A hat was soon found among the crowd, in the inside of which was sewed a paper containing part of the late violent remonstrance of the commons, with a short prayer or ejaculation. It was immediately concluded that this hat belonged to the assassin, but who he might be no one could conjecture, as the writing did not discover his name, and it was supposed that he had fled far enough not to be found without a hat, the only circumstance that could lead to a discovery. In the midst of this anxious desire of finding the murderer, a man without a hat was seen walking very composedly by the door near which the sanguinary deed had been perpetrated. "Here" exclaimed one of the company, "is the fellow who killed the duke!" and on hearing a general cry, "Where is he? where is he?" Felton firmly answered, "Here I am!"—He cheerfully exposed his breast to the drawn swords of the duke's officers, being desirous of falling a sacrifice to their fury, in order to avoid a public execution; and he persisted in denying that he had any accomplice¹⁶.

The king received the news of the duke's fate with so little emotion that his courtiers concluded he was secretly not displeased at the death of a minister so generally odious to the nation. But this seeming indifference proceeded only from the gravity and composure of Charles's mind: he being attached as much as ever to that worthless favourite, for whose friends, during his whole life, he retained an affection, and a prejudice

against his enemies. He even urged that Felton should be put to the torture in order to obtain a confession of his supposed accomplices; and was much chagrined when the judges declared the practice to be unlawful, and opposed on the same ground the gratification of his request, that the criminal's right hand might be cut off before the execution of the sentence of death²⁷.

Public cares contributed to divert the mind of Charles from private griefs. The projected mole being finished, Rochelle was more closely blockaded; yet the inhabitants, though pressed with the utmost rigours of famine, still refused to submit, in hopes of succour from England. On the death of Buckingham, the command of the fleet and army destined for their relief was given to the earl of Lindsey; who, on his arrival before Rochelle, made attempts to break through the mole, and force his way into the harbour. But that stupendous monument of Richelieu's genius was now fortified in such a manner as to render the design impracticable; and the wretched inhabitants, seeing all prospect of assistance cut off, were obliged to surrender in view of the English fleet²⁸.

27 Rushworth. vol. i.—Whitelocke, p. 11.

28 Rushworth, vol. i

LETTER IV.

History of England and Scotland, from the Assassination of the Duke of Buckingham to the Execution of the Earl of Strafford, in 1641.

THE failure of the expedition for the relief of Rochelle, and the ruin of the Protestant cause in France, the immediate consequence of it, contributed much to increase the discontents of the English nation, and to diminish the authority of the king. On the meeting of parliament, the commons complained of many grievances; and, to obtain a redress of these, they resumed their claim to the right of granting tonnage and poundage. This duty, in more ancient times, had commonly been a temporary grant of the parliament; but, since the reign of Henry V., it had been conferred on every king during life. Each prince had claimed it from the moment of his accession; and it had been usually voted by the first parliament of each reign. Charles, during the short interval which passed between his accession and first parliament, had followed

the example of his predecessors. Nor was any fault found with him for so doing. But the commons, when assembled, instead of granting this duty for the king's life, voted it only for a year¹; a circumstance which proves beyond controversy, that they had seriously formed a plan of reducing the king to a state of dependence. The peers, who perceived the purpose of the lower house, and saw that the duty of poundage was now more necessary than ever to supply the growing necessities of the crown, rejected the bill. The parliament was soon after dissolved, without any other steps being taken in the business, by either party; and Charles continued to levy the duty, and the people to pay it, in conformity with ancient usage. The subject, however, was so fully agitated by the succeeding parliament, that every one began to question the legality of levying tonnage and poundage without the consent of the representatives of the people. Charles, not yet sufficiently tamed to compliance, boldly asserted his prerogative; and the commons, engaged in procuring redress of more pernicious grievances, had little leisure to attend to the infringement of so disputable a privilege. But no sooner had they obtained the king's assent to the petition of right, which afforded a remedy against the renewal of their most weighty grievances, than they took this matter into serious consideration. The king had obstructed the proceedings, by dissolving the parliament; but being now again assembled, they showed their intention of extorting from the crown very large concessions, in return for the duty on tonnage and poundage.

Charles, who had foreseen these pretensions, took care very early to inform the parliament, "That he had not taken the duties of tonnage and poundage as pertaining to his hereditary prerogative; but that it ever had been, and still was his meaning to enjoy them as a gift of his people; that he pretended not to justify himself for what he had hitherto levied, by any right which he assumed, but only by the necessity of the case²." This concession, it has been remarked, might have satisfied the commons, had they been influenced by no other motive than that of ascertaining their own powers and privileges. But they had higher views; and insisted, as an indispensable preliminary, that the king should, for a time, entirely desist from levying the duties in question, after which they would discuss the propriety of restoring such revenue to the crown.

The proud spirit of Charles could not submit to a rigour that had never been exercised against any of his predecessors. Besides, he was afraid that the commons might renew their former

¹ Journ. 5 July, 1625.

² Rushworth, vol. i.—Parl. Hist. vol. viii.

project of making this revenue only temporary, and thereby reduce him to perpetual dependence. He did not, however, immediately break with them on their delay of granting him the contested duties; but when, instead of listening to his earnest solicitations for supply, they proceeded to carry their scrutiny into his management of religion, his indignation was roused, and he dissolved the parliament, with a determined resolution never to call another, unless he should see indications of a more compliant disposition in the nation³. March 10.

The commons, on this occasion, behaved with great boldness. On the first intimation of the king's design from the speaker, who immediately left the chair, they pushed him back into it; and two members held him there, until a short remonstrance was framed, and passed by acclamation rather than by vote. In that remonstrance all who should seek to extend or introduce popery or Arminianism (lately imported from Holland⁴) were declared enemies to the commonwealth. All who should advise the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament, were brought under the same description; and every merchant who should voluntarily pay these duties, not being

3 It is not at all surprising, that Charles should be enraged at this attempt of the commons to encroach on his ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or that they should be desirous of abridging it, as it was almost the only dangerous prerogative of the crown against which the petition of right had not planted a barrier. When the ecclesiastical jurisdiction over England was wrested from the see of Rome, the people had readily submitted to a jurisdiction no less arbitrary in the prince. Thus the king obtained a large addition of prerogative, being invested with the most absolute power in all affairs relative to the government of the church and the conscience of the subject.

The high-commission court, or supreme ecclesiastical tribunal, was immediately under the direction of the crown. A conformity of religion was demanded over the whole kingdom; and every refusal of the established ceremonies was liable to be punished by this court with deprivation, fines, confiscation, and imprisonment. Nor were the judges of the high-commission court obliged to proceed by legal information: rumour and suspicion were deemed sufficient grounds. They were invested with inquisitorial powers, which were often exercised with unfeeling rigour, even during the reign of Elizabeth. Greater liberty, in ecclesiastical affairs, was both demanded and allowed during the reign of James; but Charles, whose religion had a strong tincture of superstition, required a rigid conformity to the ancient ceremonies. Hence originated the struggle which the commons had hitherto maintained against the ecclesiastical authority of Charles, and the effort they made this session, to show, that it must be subordinate to the power that created it, and the abuse of it liable to be corrected and farther limited by the resolutions of parliament. Sanderson's Life of Charles I. Heylin's Life of Laud.

4 See Part I. Lett. LXXVI.—The difference between the Arminian doctrines and those of the established religion related chiefly to the tenets of predestination and absolute decrees, which had been embraced by the first reformers, and were still maintained in all their rigour by the puritans. The Arminians, by asserting the freedom of the human will, and diffusing other rational opinions, had rendered themselves obnoxious to those violent enthusiasts. Their number in England was yet small; but, by the indulgence of James and Charles, some of that sect had obtained the highest preferments in the church. Laud, Neile, Montague, and other bishops, the chief supporters of episcopal government, were all supposed to be tainted with Arminianism. The same men and their disciples, in return for the favour shown to them by the court, were the strenuous preachers of passive obedience, and an unconditional submission to princes. Hence arose the animosity of the commons against a sect whose theological tenets contain nothing inimical to civil liberty.

granted by parliament, was to be reputed a betrayer of the liberties of England, and an enemy to his country⁵.

The discontents of the nation now rose higher than ever, on account of this violent breach between the king and parliament: and Charles's subsequent proceedings were ill-calculated to appease them. He ordered those popular leaders, who had been most active in the late tumult in the house of commons, to be taken into custody. Some of them were fined, and condemned to find sureties for their good behaviour. But these severities served only to show more conspicuously the king's disregard of the privileges of parliament, and to procure a great stock of popularity for the sufferers, who unanimously refused to find the sureties demanded, or even to express their sorrow for having offended their sovereign⁶; so desirous were they of prolonging their meritorious distress!

In the midst of these difficulties, it was impossible for any prince to conduct with vigour the operations of war. Sensible of this, Charles submitted to necessity, and concluded a peace with France and Spain. The situation of his affairs A. D. 1630. did not entitle him to demand, from Louis, any conditions for the Huguenots, or from Philip, any stipulation in favour of the elector Palatine; yet he obtained from the latter a promise of his good offices toward the restoration of that unfortunate prince⁷. Thus was lost, through her internal dissensions, the happiest opportunity that England ever enjoyed of humbling the house of Bourbon by means of its Protestant subjects, or of dismembering the Spanish monarchy by the assistance of France, and acquiring a permanent superiority over both.

A cautious neutrality was henceforth the study of Charles, who had neither leisure nor inclination to interest himself farther in foreign affairs; happy in relinquishing every ambitious project, had he been able to recover the affections of his people and the confidence of his parliament! But unfortunately, though possessed of many amiable and respectable qualities, both as a king and as a man⁸, and though he now adopted more moderate counsels than during the administration of Buckingham, he was never able to attain those desirable ends: a great degree of

5 Parl. Hist. vol. viii.

6 Whitelocke, p. 13.—Rushworth, vol. i.—Kennet, vol. iii.

7 Rushworth, vol. ii.

8 He was an affectionate husband, an indulgent father, a gentle master, and a firm friend. His manner and address, though perhaps rather too stately, corresponded well with his natural gravity and reserve. He was not deficient in political knowledge; he possessed great moderation of temper; his taste in all the fine arts was excellent; and his learning and literary talents were much beyond what are common to princes.—Clarendon.—Sanderson.

jealous distrust remained. The causes and the consequences of this want of confidence it must now be our business to trace.

The high idea that Charles entertained of his own authority not only made him incapable of yielding to that bold spirit of liberty which had diffused itself amongst his subjects, but induced him to continue an invasion of their constitutional rights, whilst he thought himself only engaged in the defence of his own. He considered every petition of the commons as an attempt to encroach on his prerogative; and, even when he granted their requests, he disgusted them by his ungracious reluctance: he complied without obliging. His concessions were not received as marks of royal kindness, as indications of justice or generosity, but as so many sacrifices to necessity. The representatives of the people saw themselves, when assembled, regarded merely in the light of imposers of taxes; and therefore resolved to make use of the power of withholding supplies, in order to convince the king of their political consequence, as well as to obtain a ratification of their ancient rights. The royal authority was likewise too high, in ecclesiastical matters, for a limited government, being altogether absolute: the parliament had discovered an inclination to restrain it; the king had resented the affront by a dissolution; and thus was produced an incurable jealousy between the parties.

Other causes conspired to increase the jealousy of the nation in regard to religion. Charles, ever strongly attached to his queen, had favoured her with his whole friendship and confidence after the death of Buckingham. Her sense and spirit entitled her to share his counsels, while her beauty justified his excessive fondness; but, as her disposition was warm and violent, she sometimes precipitated him into rash measures; and her religion, to which she was much devoted, induced her to procure for the Catholics such indulgences as gave general dissatisfaction, and increased the odium against the court. Nor was this all. Laud, bishop of London, had acquired great influence over the king, and directed him in all ecclesiastical, and even in many civil affairs. Though a man of learning and virtue, he was a superstitious bigot, eagerly desirous of exalting the priesthood, and of imposing on the obstinate puritans, by the most rigorous measures, new ceremonies and observances, unknown to the church of England; and that too at a time when the ancient ceremonies, to which men had been accustomed, and which had been hallowed by the practice of the reformers, could with difficulty be retained in divine service. Yet this man, who, in the prosecution of his holy enterprise, overlooked all human considerations, and the heat and indiscretion of whose temper made

him neglect the plainest dictates of prudence, was raised by Charles to the see of Canterbury, and invested with uncontrolled authority over the consciences of the people.

Not only such of the clergy as neglected to observe every superstitious ceremony enjoined by Laud and his brethren were suspended, and deprived of their benefices by the high-commission-court; oaths were even imposed on churchwardens, binding them to inform against any one who acted in repugnance to the ecclesiastical canons; and all who did not conform to the new mode of worship were treated with the utmost rigour. The religion which the archbishop endeavoured to establish differed very little from that of the church of Rome. The puritans therefore regarded him as the forerunner of Antichrist⁹.

Nor were the puritans singular in this opinion. The daughter of the earl of Devonshire, having embraced the Catholic faith, was asked by Laud her reason for changing her religion: "It is chiefly," answered she, "because I hate to *travel* in a *crowd*." The meaning of these words being demanded, she replied, "I perceive your grace and many others are making haste to Rome; and therefore, to prevent my being jostled, I have gone before you." In a word, Laud's chief objection to popery seems to have been the supremacy of the holy see, to which he did not wish to subject his metropolitan power. For, although he himself tells us, "that, when a cardinal's hat was offered to him by the pope, something dwelt within him, which would not suffer his compliance, till Rome should be other than it is," the genius of his religion appears to have been the same with the Romish. The same profound respect was exacted by him to the sacerdotal character; the same submission was required to the creeds and decrees of councils; the same pomp and ceremony were affected in worship; and the same superstitious respect to days, postures, meats, and vestments¹⁰.

As a specimen of the new ceremonies, to which Laud sacrificed the peace of the kingdom, it will be sufficient to relate those which he employed in the consecration of St. Catharine's church. The church had been rebuilt by the parishioners, and profanely used for some time without the ceremony of a new consecration—a circumstance which, coming to the ear of Laud, while he was bishop of London, filled him with horror, and induced him to suspend it from all divine service, until he had performed that holy office. On his approach to the west door of the church, a loud voice cried out, "Open, open, ye everlasting doors! that the King of Glory may come in." The doors of the church instantly flew open; the bishop entered; and falling on his knees, with his eyes lifted up, and his arms expanded, he exclaimed in

⁹ Rushworth, vol. ii.

¹⁰ Rushworth, vol. ii. Hume, vol. vi.

a solemn tone, "This place is holy! the ground is holy! in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy!" Then going to the chancel, he several times took up some dust from the floor, and threw it in the air. When he approached the communion-table, he bowed frequently toward it. On returning, he and his attendants went round the church, in a kind of procession, repeating the hundredth psalm; and then said a form of prayer, concluding with these words: "We consecrate this church, and separate it unto THEE, as holy ground, not to be profaned to common uses." Standing near the communion-table, he now denounced imprecations on all who should pollute that holy place, by musters of soldiers, keeping in it profane law-courts, or carrying burthens through it. At the conclusion of every curse, he bowed toward the east, and cried, "Let all the people say Amen!" When the imprecations were ended, he poured out blessings on all who had contributed to the erection of that sacred and beautiful edifice, and on those who had given, or should hereafter give to it, any chalices, plate, ornaments, or utensils. At the close of every benediction, he bowed toward the east, and cried, "Let all the people say Amen!"

These ceremonies were followed by a sermon; after which the bishop thus administered the sacrament. As he approached the communion-table, he made many low reverences, and coming up to that side of the table where the bread and wine were placed, he bowed seven times. After reading many prayers, he approached the sacramental elements, and gently lifted up the corner of the napkin in which the bread was placed. When he beheld the bread, he suddenly let fall the napkin, fell back a step or two, and bowed three times toward the bread; then drew near again, opened the napkin, and bowed as before. He next took hold of the cup, which was filled with wine; then let it go, fell back, and bowed thrice toward it. He again approached, and, lifting up the cover, peeped into the cup; but, on seeing the wine, he let fall the cover, and bowed as before. He then received the sacrament, and administered it to others; and the fabric being now supposed sufficiently holy, the solemnity of the consecration was concluded with many formal prayers¹¹. The same pious farce was repeated at the consecration of the church of St. Giles in the Fields, and on other occasions of a like nature, notwithstanding the scandal occasioned by the first exhibition¹². Opposition and general odium served only to increase the bishop's zeal for such superstitious mummeries, which were openly countenanced by the court.

11 Rushworth, vol. ii.—Hume, vol. vi.

12 Heylin's *Life of Laud*, p. 212 et seq.

In return for the king's indulgence to the church, Laud and his followers took care, on every occasion, to magnify the royal authority, and made no scruple to treat with contempt all pretensions to a free or limited government. By these flatteries, and his original prepossessions, Charles was led to consider himself as the supreme magistrate to whom Heaven, by his birth-right, had committed the care of his people; whose duty it was to provide for their security and happiness, both spiritual and temporal, and who was invested with ample discretionary powers for that purpose. When the observance of an ancient law or custom was consistent with the present convenience of government, he judged it prudent to follow that rule, as the easiest, safest, and what would procure the most prompt and willing obedience; but when a change of circumstances, especially if derived from the obstinacy of the people, seemed to require a new plan of administration, it was his opinion that national privileges ought to yield to supreme power, and that no order of men in the state could be warranted in opposing the will of the sovereign, when directed to the public good.

Charles, however, did not rest the support of that absolute dominion, which he thought he had a right to establish over the souls and bodies of his subjects, merely on the declamations of churchmen, or the intrigues of courtiers. He had recourse to that policy, which has often been so successfully pursued in later times, of employing the honours and offices of the crown, to draw off the parliamentary leaders from opposition, and to engage them in the defence of that authority, which they shared, by becoming members of administration. The king was not wholly disappointed in this first attempt to divide the force of the country party. Sir Thomas Wentworth, a popular member of great abilities, whom he created earl of Strafford, became a firm pillar to the throne. Other parliamentary leaders were also drawn over to the court. Sir Dudley Digges was created master of the rolls; Mr. Noy, attorney-general; and Mr. Littleton, solicitor-general¹³.

But the effect of this new political manœuvre was by no means such as might have been expected from it, or what sometimes attended similar measures in subsequent days—a temporary reconciliation between the parties. The views of the king and parliament were so repugnant to each other, that the leaders whom he had gained, though men of eminent talents and irreproachable character, lost all credit with their party from the moment of their defection. They were even pursued as traitors, with implacable hatred and resentment; and the king was so far from acquiring popularity by employing them, that

¹³ Whitlocke p. 15

he lost still farther, by that expedient, the confidence of the nation. It was considered as an insidious attempt to turn the emoluments of the state against itself, and the honours of the crown against the constitution; to unnerve, by corruption, the arm of liberty; and by means of apostate patriots, the most terrible instruments of tyranny, to complete the despotism of the prince and the slavery of the people.

These apprehensions were not altogether without foundation. As Charles had formed a resolution no more to assemble the commons, and even published a proclamation to that purpose, he was obliged to raise money for the support of government, either by the revival of obsolete laws or by violations of the rights of the subject. Tonnage and poundage continued to be levied, according to the former arbitrary impositions; new imposts were even laid on several kinds of merchandise; and the officers of the customs received orders from the council to enter into any house, warehouse, or cellar, to search any trunk or chest, and break any bulk whatever, in default of payment of such duties¹⁴. The oppressive method of raising money by monopolies was revived; the odious expedient of compounding with popish recusants became a regular part of the revenue; several arbitrary taxes were imposed; and in order to facilitate these exactions, and repress the rising spirit of liberty, many severe sentences were passed in the star-chamber and high-commission courts. Some persons were fined, others imprisoned; and those who publicly arraigned the measures of the court were condemned to stand in the pillory¹⁵.

For eight years had Charles supported his government by arbitrary impositions, levied by means no less arbitrary, before he met with any vigorous opposition. At length John Hampden, a private gentleman, had the courage to set the crown at defiance, and make a bold stand in defence A. D. 1637. of the laws and the liberties of his country. Among other taxes, that of ship-money had been revived, and levied on the whole kingdom. This tax, intended for the support of the royal navy, and in itself moderate and equitable, was only exceptionable by being imposed without the consent of parliament; and to discourage all opposition on that account, the king had proposed as a question to the judges, "Whether, in cases of *necessity*, he might not, for the defence of the kingdom, impose such a tax; and whether he was not the *sole judge* of that *necessity*?" The compliant judges answered in the affirmative, and the tax was generally paid. But Hampden, regardless of the opinion of the judges and the example of others, resolved to hazard the

¹⁴ Rushworth, vol. ii.

¹⁵ Clarendon, vol. i.—Rushworth, vol. ii.

issue of a suit, rather than tamely submit to the illegal imposition ; and although only rated at twenty shillings to risque the whole indignation of royalty¹⁶.

This important cause was heard before the twelve judges in the Exchequer chamber. The pleadings lasted twelve days ; and the nation regarded with the utmost anxiety every circumstance of the trial. The issue might easily have been foreseen from the former opinion of the heads of the law ; but it was not, on that account, considered as less momentous, or expected with less impatience.

In most national questions much may be said on both sides : but on the present occasion, no legal argument of any weight was adduced by the crown-lawyers, though men of profound abilities ; a strong presumption that none such existed. They only pleaded *precedent* and *necessity*. The precedents, when examined, were found to be by no means applicable to the case, and the necessity was denied. “ England,” said Hampden’s counsel, “ enjoys a profound peace with all her neighbours ; and, what farther secures her tranquillity, all her neighbours are engaged in furious and bloody wars among themselves. The very writs which are issued for the levying of ship-money, contradict the idea of necessity : they assert only that the seas are infested by pirates : a slight and temporary inconvenience, which may well wait a legal supply from parliament. And as to the pretension, that the king is the sole judge of the necessity, what is this, but to subject all the privileges, and all the property of the nation, to his arbitrary will and pleasure ? For the plea of *voluntary necessity* will warrant any other taxation as well as that of ship-money. And if such maxims and practices prevail, where is national liberty ? What authority is left to the Great Charter, that palladium of the constitution ? Or what to the Petition of Right, so lately enacted by the concurrence of the whole legislature¹⁷.”

The prejudiced or prostituted judges, notwithstanding these powerful arguments, gave sentence in favour of the crown.— Yet Hampden obtained, by this trial, the end which he had proposed to himself. National questions were canvassed in every company ; and the people, if not roused to active opposition, were at least awakened to a sense of the danger to which their liberties were exposed. “ Slavish principles,” it was said, “ concurred with illegal practices ; ecclesiastical tyranny gave aid to civil usurpation ; iniquitous taxes were supported by arbitrary punishments ; and all the privileges of the nation, transmitted through so many ages, secured by so many laws,

¹⁶ Rushworth, vol. ii.—Whitlocke.

¹⁷ State Trials, vol. v.

and purchased by the blood of so many heroes and patriots, now lay prostrate at the foot of the throne. What though the personal character of the king, amid all his misguided counsels, might merit indulgence, or even praise, he was but one man ; and the privileges of the people, the inheritance of millions, were too valuable to be sacrificed to his prejudices and mistakes¹⁸."

While the minds of men underwent this fermentation in England, a more dangerous spirit made its appearance in Scotland. We have already had occasion to trace the steps taken by James for introducing episcopacy into that kingdom. The same policy was pursued by his son Charles ; who, in 1633, had paid a visit to his native country, and made a violent attempt to get his authority there acknowledged in ecclesiastical matters. He obtained an act of parliament vesting him with such authority ; but as that act was known to have been extorted by the influence and importunity of the sovereign, contrary to the sentiments even of those who gave it their suffrage, it served only to inflame the jealousy, and rouse the resentment of the nation¹⁹.

Nor will this opposition excite surprise, if we consider, that the ecclesiastical government, in Scotland, was believed to be totally independent of the civil. Christ, not the king, was regarded as the head of the church ; consequently no act of parliament, nothing but the consent of the church itself ; under the supposed illuminations of its Invisible Superior, could be sufficient ground for the introduction of any change in religious worship or discipline. But, in direct contradiction to these old presbyterian maxims, James had introduced into Scotland the court of high-commission, at a time when its authority was too grievous to be patiently borne in England ; and now, by an extorted act of parliament, Charles openly discovered his intention of overturning the national religion, and of enforcing conformity to a new mode of worship, by means of this arbitrary tribunal.

The Scots could easily discover the nature of the religion which the king wished to introduce. The jurisdictions of presbyters, synods, and other democratical courts, were already in a manner abolished ; and the general assembly itself had not been summoned for two years past. It was evident that Charles, ambitious to complete the work so unwisely begun by his father, was resolved, in conjunction with the bishops, to govern the church of Scotland by the same absolute authority which he enjoyed in England, and to render the ecclesiastical government

¹⁸ Hume, vol. vi.

¹⁹ Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. i.

of all his kingdoms regular and uniform. But the ardour of reformation was not yet sufficiently abated, among the Scots, to admit such a change. They were still under the influence of the wildest enthusiasm ; and that concurring with certain political considerations, not only obstructed Charles's favourite scheme of uniformity, but eventually ruined his authority in both kingdoms.

This prince, from the natural piety or superstition of his temper, was slavishly attached to churchmen ; and, as it is natural for all men to persuade themselves, that their interest coincides with their inclination, he had laid it down as a political canon, that to increase the power and civil influence of the ecclesiastical order was the first duty of his government. He considered the episcopal clergy as the most faithful servants of the crown, and the great promoters of loyalty among the people. In consequence of this idea, some of the Scottish prelates were raised to the highest offices of the state ; and an attempt was made to revive the first institution of the College of Justice, and to share equally between the clergy and laity the whole judicial authority, as before the Reformation²⁰. These innovations disgusted the high-minded nobility, who frequently found themselves insulted by the upstart bishops, while they had the mortification to see themselves inferior in official importance and courtly favour. Selfishness completed that jealousy which ambition had begun. The Scottish nobles perceived that the king was preparing to deprive them (in behalf of the clergy) of those church lands which they had so largely shared at the Reformation, and therefore took part with the people and the presbyterian preachers, in opposing the plan of episcopacy, and spreading wide the alarm of popery²¹.

Meanwhile Charles and his dignified ecclesiastics were zealously employed in framing canons and a liturgy for the use of a people who held both in abhorrence. The canons, which were promulgated in 1635, though received by the nation without much clamour or opposition, occasioned much inward apprehension and discontent. They were indeed of a most arbitrary and offensive nature, and highly grievous to a people jealous of their civil and religious liberties. They asserted, that the king's authority was absolute and unlimited ; and they ordained, among many other things odious to presbyterian ears, that the clergy should not pray extemporaneously, but by the printed form prescribed in the liturgy : that no one should officiate as schoolmaster without a license from the bishop of the diocese ; nor any person be admitted into holy orders, or allowed to

²⁰ Guthrie's Memoirs.

²¹ Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. i.

perform any ecclesiastical function, without first subscribing those canons²².

Even men of moderate principles, who could regard these ordinances with a degree of indifference, were filled with indignation at seeing a whole body of ecclesiastical laws established without any previous consent, either of church or state. They dreaded a like despotism in civil government: yet a seeming submission was paid to the king's authority, until the reading of the liturgy. It was chiefly copied from that of England, and consequently was little exceptionable in itself. But this seemingly favourable circumstance was no recommendation to the Scots, who, proud of the purity of their worship, thought the English church still retained a strong mixture of Romish pollution. They therefore represented the new liturgy as a species of mass, though with less show and embroidery; and when, in the cathedral church of St. Giles, the dean of Edinburgh, arrayed in his surplice, opened the book, and began the service, the meaner part of the audience, but especially the women, raised a dreadful clamour, clapping their hands and exclaiming, "A pope! a pope! Antichrist! stone him! stone him!" And the tumult was so great, that it was found impossible to proceed with the service, until the most turbulent of the rioters were turned out of the church by the civil magistrates. The bishop, who had attempted in vain to appease them, was in danger, on his return from the cathedral, of falling a victim to their fury²³.

Though this tumult appeared to have been conducted only by persons of low condition, the sense of the nation was well known; so that it was not thought advisable to hazard a new insult by a second attempt to read the liturgy. But as the king, contrary to all the maxims of sound policy, and even of common sense, remained inflexible in his purpose of imposing such a mode of worship on his Scottish subjects, new tumults arose; and the people flocked from every part of the kingdom to Edinburgh, to counteract the obnoxious measure. Men of all ranks joined in petitions against the liturgy: the pulpits resounded with vehement declamations against Antichrist; and the populace, who had first opposed the new service, were ingeniously compared by the preachers to Balaam's ass, an animal, stupid in itself, but whose mouth the Lord had opened, to the admiration of the whole world. Fanaticism, in a word, mingling with faction, and private interest with the spirit of liberty, produced symptoms of the most dangerous insurrection; yet

²² Fuller's Church Hist.—Burnet's Mem. of the House of Hamilton.

²³ King's Declaration.—Rushworth, vol. ii.—Burnet's Mem.

Charles, as if under the influence of a blind fatality, though fully informed of the disorders in Scotland, obstinately refused to desist from his undertaking, notwithstanding the representations of his ablest ministers, and most faithful servants in that kingdom.

But what renders this obstinacy still more inexcusable, and makes the king's conduct appear altogether inexplicable, is, that while he was endeavouring to recover so great a part of the property of Scotland as the church-lands, from powerful nobles, by no means willing to relinquish them, and was attempting to produce very serious changes in the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of that realm, he raised no forces to carry his violent designs into execution ! The Scots saw the weakness of his administration, at the same time that they had reason to complain of its rigour ; and, on the appearance of a proclamation, containing a pardon for all past offences, and exhorting them peaceably to submit to the liturgy, they entered into a civil and religious convention, generally known by the name of the COVENANT, which proved an effectual barrier against all regal encroachment.

In this convention were comprehended all orders of men in the state, divided into different tables or classes; one table consisting of nobility, another of gentry, a third of clergy, and a fourth of burgesses. In the hands of commissioners, chosen A. D. 1638. from these four tables, the whole authority of the kingdom was placed. The articles of their Covenant consisted, first of a renunciation of popery, signed by the late king in his youth ; then followed a bond of union, by which the subscribers obliged themselves to resist innovations in religion, and to defend each other against all violence and oppression. And as every thing was pretended to be done by the Covenanters for the glory of God, the honour of the king, and the advantage of their country, people of all ranks, without distinction of age or sex, crowded to subscribe the Covenant. Even the king's ministers and counsellors were seized with the general phrensy²⁴.

Charles, who now began to apprehend the consequences of such a powerful combination, despatched the marquis of Hamilton into Scotland, with authority to treat with the covenanters. He offered to suspend the canons and liturgy, until they could be received in a fair and legal way ; and so model the court of high-commission, that it should no longer give offence. But he required in return for these concessions a renunciation of the covenant. The chief malcontents, finding themselves seconded by the zeal of the greater part of the nation, replied, " that they would sooner renounce their baptism than the covenant !" and the ministers invited the commissioner to subscribe it, telling him

²⁴ Rushworth, vol. ii.—Burnet's Mem.—King's Declaration.

with what peace and comfort it had filled the hearts of all God's people²⁵."

Hamilton returned to London; made another fruitless journey to Edinburg, with new concessions; returned a second time to London; and was soon sent back, with concessions yet more ample. Charles now consented utterly to abolish the canons, the liturgy, and the court of high-commission; but he would not agree to abolish episcopacy, which he thought as essential to the very being of a Christian church, as his Scottish subjects deemed it incompatible with that sacred institution. This narrowness of mind, which we must pity rather than condemn, proved the ruin of the negotiation. The king had empowered Hamilton, however, to propose the summoning of the general assembly of the church, and the parliament, by which every grievance might be redressed; an offer which was readily embraced by the covenanters, who were well assured of their superior influence in both.

The first object that engaged the attention of the general assembly, where, besides a vast multitude of the populace, the most considerable of the Scottish nobility and gentry were present, was an act for the utter abolition of episcopacy. The bishops sent a protest, declining the authority of the assembly; and the commissioner dissolved it, in his majesty's name, after declaring it illegally constituted. But this measure, though unforeseen, was little regarded: the members continued to sit, and finished their business. All the acts of assembly, since the accession of James VI. to the crown of England, were declared null and void, as being procured by the arbitrary influence of the sovereign; and the acts of parliament, which affected ecclesiastical affairs, were considered, on the same account, as of no authority²⁶. Thus episcopacy, the court of high-commission, the canons, and the liturgy, were abolished, and declared unlawful. Every thing, in a word, which, during a long
A. D. 1639.
course of years, James and Charles had been labouring with such care and policy to rear, was thrown at once to the ground; and the covenant, so obnoxious to the crown and hierarchy, was ordered, under pain of excommunication, to be signed by every one²⁷.

After having taken these bold steps, it became necessary for the Scottish malcontents to maintain their religious opinions by military force; especially as they had good reason to believe, that, however just their resolutions might appear to themselves, they would not be assented to by the king. Although they did

25 King's Declaration.—Rushworth, vol. ii.

26 King's Declaration.—Burnet's Mem.—Rushworth, vol. ii.

27 King's Declaration.

not despair of supernatural assistance, they thought it would be imprudent to slight the arm of flesh. Their measures, dictated by vigour and ability, were indeed alike distinguished by their wisdom and promptitude; and such as might have been expected from a regularly established commonwealth, rather than a tumultuous convention. The whole kingdom being in a manner engaged in the covenant, men of talents soon acquired that ascendancy to which their natural superiority entitled them, and which their family interest or their character enabled them to maintain. The earl of Argyle, well calculated to make a figure during such a turbulent period, took the lead; and the earl of Rothes, Cassilis, Montrose, Lothian, with the lords Lindsay, Loudon, Yester, and Balmerino, distinguished themselves in the cause. Many Scottish officers, who had acquired reputation in Germany, during the religious wars, but particularly under Gustavus Adolphus, were invited over to assist their country in her present necessity. And the chief command was intrusted to Lesley, earl of Leven, an officer of experience and ability. Forces were regularly inlisted and disciplined; arms were imported from foreign countries; some of the royal castles were seized; and the whole country, except a small part, where the marquis of Huntley still supported the royal authority, was reduced under the power of the covenanters²⁸.

Charles, whose affection to his native kingdom was strong, but whose attachment to the hierarchy was yet stronger, hastened his military preparations for subduing the refractory spirit of the Scots, and re-establishing episcopacy. A respectable fleet, with five thousand soldiers on board, was intrusted to the marquis of Hamilton, who had orders to sail for the Frith of Forth, and attempt to divide the forces of the covenanters: and eighteen thousand foot and three thousand horse were put under the command of the earl of Arundel. The earl of Essex was appointed lieutenant-general, and the earl of Holland general of the horse. The king himself joined the army, and summoned all the peers of England to attend him. Many of them repaired to the camp, which had more the appearance of a splendid court than of a military armament. With part of this pompous rather than formidable force, Charles arrived at York, while Essex advanced and took possession of Berwick²⁹.

The opposite army was as numerous as that of the king, but inferior in cavalry. The officers, however, had more experience; and the soldiers, though newly raised, and but indifferently armed, were animated by the strongest motive that can stimulate men to action—zeal for the preservation of their civil and re-

²⁸ May's Hist. of the Parl. of England.—Burnet's Mem.

²⁹ Clarendon, vol. i.

ligious liberties. Yet so prudent were their leaders, who wished to avoid hostilities, that they immediately sent submissive messages, and craved leave to be permitted to treat with the king. It was now a very difficult matter for Charles to determine how to act. He was sensible that, while the force of the covenanters remained unbroken, their spirits high, and their ardour unabated, no reasonable terms could be expected from them; and should he submit to their pretensions, not only prelacy must be sacrificed to their fanaticism, but regal authority itself would become a mere shadow in Scotland. On the other hand, the consequences of a defeat, while Scotland was yet in arms, and England dissatisfied, were too dreadful to permit him to hazard a battle: the utter loss of his authority, in both kingdoms, was to be feared. Besides, had he been inclined to rely on the bravery of his English subjects, they discovered no inclination to act offensively against the Scots, whose necessity of rising they pitied, and whose independent spirit they admired. The sympathy of civil and religious grievances had subdued all national animosity in their hearts.

It seemed, however, essential for the king's safety, that he should take a decided part; that he should either confide in the valour and generosity of the English nation, and attempt to bring the Scots under submission; or openly and candidly grant the covenanters such conditions as would exclude all future cause of complaint, and render rebellion inexcusable. Unfortunately in deliberating between these resolutions, Charles embraced neither; but concluded a sudden pacification, in which it was stipulated, that he should withdraw his fleet and army; that the Scots, within eight and forty hours, should dismiss their forces; that the forts taken by the covenanters should be restored, the royal authority acknowledged, and the general assembly and parliament summoned, in order to compose all differences³⁰.

The consequences were such as might have been expected from so injudicious a negotiation. The pretensions of the Scots agreed so ill with the concessions which the king was willing to make, that their parliament was prorogued, when proceeding to ratify some obnoxious acts of assembly; and the war was renewed, with great advantages on the side of the covenanters. Charles's necessities had obliged him to disband his forces, immediately after the unmeaning pacification; and, from the unwillingness of the English to engage in the quarrel, it was impossible to assemble a new army without great expense, as well as loss of time. The more provident covenanters, who foresaw the probability of their being again obliged to support their pretensions by arms, were careful, in dismissing their

troops, to take such measures as made it easy for them to collect their strength. The officers had orders to be ready on the first summons, and the soldiers were warned not to think the nation secure from an English invasion. Pious zeal rendered both watchful ; and no sooner was the trumpet sounded, by their spiritual and temporal leaders, than all ranks of men repaired to their military stations, and cheerfully took the field once more, in defence of their civil and religious liberties³¹.

The king, at length, collected a military force : but he soon discovered that his greatest difficulty yet remained ; his revenues were insufficient to support his troops. How to proceed, in such an emergency, was a question not easy to be determined. After the many irregular methods of taxation which had been tried, and the multiplied disgusts thereby given to the A. D. 1640. puritanical party, as well as by the management of religion, little could be expected from an English parliament ; yet to that humiliating expedient the proud spirit of Charles was obliged to stoop, as the only means of obtaining supply ; and, after a contemptuous intermission of eleven years, to summon the great council of the nation, and throw himself on the generosity of his insulted commons. The chief members, as might have been expected, insisted that the redress of grievances should be taken into consideration before they entered on the business of supply. They affirmed, that this was conformable to the ancient usage of parliament, and founded on a jealousy inherent in the constitution ; that the necessity pleaded was purely ministerial, not national ; for, if the same grievances, under which England laboured, had pushed the Scots to extremities, was it incumbent on the English to forge their own chains by imposing chains on their neighbours ? Disgusted with these reasonings, and finding his friends in the house outnumbered by his enemies, Charles, by the advice of archbishop Laud and the marquis of Hamilton, formed and executed the desperate resolution of dissolving the parliament³². The marquis is supposed to have been secretly a friend to the covenanters.

Thus disappointed of parliamentary aid, the king, in order to satisfy his urgent wants, was obliged to have recourse to a method of supply which must have been very grating to a generous mind. Besides laying a heavy hand upon the clergy, he was under the necessity of borrowing large sums from his ministers and courtiers ; and so much was he beloved by them, that the loan greatly exceeded his expectation. They subscribed above three hundred thousand pounds in a few days. By these means, he was enabled to send to the northward about

31 Clarendon, vol. i.

32 Clarendon, vol. i.—Burnet's Mem.

nineteen thousand foot and two thousand horse. The earl of Northumberland acted as commander-in chief; the earl of Strafford, as lieutenant-general; and lord Conway as general of the horse³³.

The troops of the covenanters, though more numerous, were sooner ready, and had marched to the borders of England, in consequence of a letter forged by lord Saville, in the name of six English noblemen, inviting the Scots to assist their neighbours in procuring a redress of their grievances³⁴. But, notwithstanding their force, and this encouragement, they still preserved the most submissive language; and entered England, as they declared, with no other view than to obtain access to the king's person, and lay their humble petition at his royal feet. They were opposed in their march, at Newburn upon Tyne, by a detachment of your thousand five hundred men, under lord Conway, who seemed resolute to dispute with them the passage of the river. The Scots, after entreating liberty to pass unmolested, attacked their opponents with great bravery; killed above fifty of them, and chased the rest from their ground. In consequence of this unexpected advantage, the English troops were seized with a panic: the forces at Newcastle fled immediately to Durham; and not thinking themselves safe even there, retreated with precipitation into Yorkshire³⁵.

The victorious covenanters took possession of Newcastle without offering any violence to the persons or property of the inhabitants. They not only observed the most exact discipline, but persevered so far in maintaining the appearance of an amicable disposition toward England, that they even paid for their provisions; and they sent messengers to the king, who was then at York, to renew their protestations of loyalty and submission, and to beg forgiveness for the unavoidable effusion of the blood of his English subjects. Charles understood the hypocritical insult; but his circumstances did not permit him to resent it. His people were highly dissatisfied; the troops were discouraged, the treasury was exhausted, the revenue anticipated; and every expedient for supply that ingenuity could suggest had been tried to the utmost. In this extremity, as the least of two evils, the king agreed to a treaty, in order to prevent the Scots from advancing upon him; and named sixteen English noblemen, who met with eleven Scottish deputies at Rippon. The result of their deliberations was a cessation of arms; in consequence of which the Scots were to be allowed, for their main-

33 Rushworth, vol. iii.

34 Nelson's Collections, vol. ii.—Burnet's Hist. vol. i.

35 This panic was chiefly occasioned by an unexpected discharge of artillery. Burnet's Hist. vol. i.

tenance, eight hundred and fifty pounds a-day, during their stay in England³⁶.

It is worthy of remark, that the earl of Strafford, who had succeeded Northumberland in the command of the army, and who possessed greater vigour of mind than the king or any of the council, advised Charles to put all to the hazard of a battle, rather than submit to such unworthy terms as were likely to be imposed upon him; "for, should your majesty even be defeated, nothing worse can befall you," observed his lordship, "than what from your inactivity you will certainly feel³⁷." These prophetic words seem to have been dictated by the most infallible of all inspiration, that intuitive discernment of a penetrating genius, habituated to the contemplation of human affairs, which enables it to look into futurity.

The causes of disgust which had, for above thirty years, been multiplying in England, had now reached their height; and Charles, in despair of being able to stem the torrent, at last resolved to yield to it. He therefore, in compliance with a number of petitions, and the general wish of his subjects, again assembled the parliament. Many exorbitant claims, he was sensible, would be made, and must be complied with. But he little expected that great and decisive blow, which, on the meeting of parliament, was aimed at his authority, by the commons, in the person of his *minister*, the earl of Strafford; for as such that nobleman was considered, both on account of the credit which he possessed with the king, and of his own extensive and vigorous capacity. Not unacquainted with the load of popular prejudices under which he laboured, Strafford would gladly have declined attendance in parliament; and begged permission to withdraw himself to his government of Ireland, being then lord-lieutenant, or at least to remain at the head of the army in Yorkshire. But the king, judging his presence and counsel necessary at such a crisis, assured him, that not a hair of his head should be touched by the parliament³⁸. So confident was Charles still of his own authority, though it was ready to expire, and so lofty were his ideas of the majesty of kings!

The commons thought less respectfully of it. No sooner was Strafford's arrival known, than a concerted attack was made upon him by Mr. Pym; who, after enumerating all the grievances under which the nation laboured, inferred, that a deliberate plan had been formed under the reign of a pious and virtuous king, for changing totally the frame of government, and subverting the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom. "We

³⁶ Clarendon, vol. i.—Rushworth, vol. iii.

³⁷ Nelson, vol. ii.

³⁸ Whitelocke.

must enquire," added he, "from what fountain these waters of bitterness flow; and though doubtless many evil counselors will be found to have contributed their endeavours, yet there is one who claims the guilty pre-eminence: HE is the earl of Strafford, lieutenant of Ireland, and president of the council of York; a man who, in the memory of many present, appeared in this house as an earnest vindicator of the laws, and a most zealous assertor and champion of the liberties of the people. But it is long since he turned from these good affections; and, according to the custom of *apostates*, he is become the greatest enemy to the liberties of his country, and the greatest promoter of tyranny, that any age hath ever produced³⁹."

This political apostacy of Strafford seems, indeed, to have been his chief crime with the popular leaders, not to be expiated but with his blood. Pym was seconded in his charge by sir John Hotham, sir John Clotworthy, and others; and, after several hours spent in bitter invectives against the supposed criminal (the doors being locked to prevent a discovery of the concerted purpose), it was moved, that the earl should be accused of high treason. The motion was received with general approbation: the impeachment was voted; Mr. Pym was ordered to communicate it to the lords: most of the members attended him; and Strafford, who had just entered the house of peers, and intended, it is said, the same day to have impeached some popular members of both houses, for holding a treasonable correspondence with the Scots, was suddenly ordered into custody, with many symptoms of prejudice in his judges as well as his accusers⁴⁰.

Elate with their success, the popular leaders ventured also to impeach archbishop Laud, the lord-keeper Finch, and secretary Windebank⁴¹. The two last made their escape beyond sea, before they could be taken into custody: the primate was committed. From *traitors* the commons proceeded to the prosecution of *delinquents*: a term expressive of a degree and species of guilt not exactly known or ascertained, but which, by the interpretation then put upon it, exposed to punishment not only the king's ministers and counsellors, but many of the nobility, gentry, and clergy: all, indeed, however warranted by prece-

39 Parl. Hist. vol. ix.—Clarendon, vol. i.

40 Clarendon, vol. i.

41 Grimstone, a popular member, called sir Francis Windebank, who was one of Laud's creatures, "the very pander and broker to the whore of Babylon!" (Rushworth, vol. v.) Nothing can show in a stronger light the illiberal way of thinking, and the narrow prejudices of the times, than the use of such expressions, in the house, on so great an occasion.

dent or proclamation, who had acted without the authority of the statute-law of the land⁴².

The commons, prosecuting their bold career, declared the sanction of the two houses of parliament, as well as of the king, necessary to the confirmation of ecclesiastical canons; expelled from their house all monopolists; and appointed committees to inquire into all the violations of law and liberty, of which any complaint had been made. From the reports of these committees, the house daily passed votes, which mortified and astonished the court, at the same time that they animated and inflamed the nation. Ship-money was declared illegal and arbitrary; the sentence against Hampden was cancelled; compositions for knighthood were stigmatised; the extension of the forest laws condemned; patents for monopolies annulled; and almost all the measures which had been adopted for some years past were treated with reproach and obloquy⁴³.

All moderate men were now of opinion, that a design was formed to subvert the monarchy⁴⁴; and the church was in no less danger. While the harangues of the members, now first published and dispersed, kept alive the discontents against the king's administration, the pulpits, delivered over to puritanical preachers and lecturers, whom the commons arbitrarily settled in all the considerable churches, resounded with faction and fanaticism. The popular leaders, in order to maintain that high authority which they had acquired; and inspire confidence into their friends, as well as to overawe their opponents, judged it requisite still to delay the departure of the Scots; and the chaplains to their commissioners began openly to use the presbyterian form of worship, which had not hitherto been tolerated in England, and with such amazing success in London, that multitudes crowded not only into the church assigned to them, but such as could not there find room clung to the doors or windows, in hopes of catching at least the distant murmur, or some broken phrases of the spiritual rhetoric⁴⁵.

This was the most effectual method of paying court to the zealous covenanters. To spread the presbyterian discipline and

⁴² Clarendon, vol. i.

⁴³ Nalson, vol. i.—Clarendon, vol. i.—Rushworth, vol. iii.

⁴⁴ "You have taken the whole machine of government in pieces," said Charles, in a speech to the parliament; "a practice frequent with skillful artists, when they desire to clear the wheels of any rust which may have grown upon them. The engine," continued he, "may be restored to its former use and motions, provided it be put up entire, so as not a pin of it be wanting." But this was far from being the intention of the commons. The machine, they thought, with some reason, was encumbered with many wheels and springs, which counteracted its operations, and destroyed its utility.

⁴⁵ Clarendon, vol. i.

worship throughout England, and to establish that faith on the ruins of episcopacy, would have given greater satisfaction to their godly hearts than the temporal conquest of the kingdom; and the hour was approaching when that pleasure was to be theirs. The puritanical party among the commons, emboldened by their success in civil matters, began openly to profess their tenets, and to make furious attacks on the established religion. Every day produced some vehement harangue against the usurpations of the bishops; and so highly disgusted were all the lovers of liberty at the political doctrines propagated by the clergy, that no distinction, for a time, appeared between such as desired only to repress the exorbitances of the hierarchy, and such as wished to annihilate episcopal jurisdiction⁴⁶.

Encouraged by these favourable appearances, petitions against the established church were framed in different parts of the kingdom; and the epithet of the *ignorant* or *scandalous* priesthood was commonly applied to all churchmen, although the episcopal clergy in England during that age seem to have been sufficiently learned and exemplary. An address against episcopacy was presented by twelve clergymen of the committee of religion, said to be signed by seven hundred puritanical ministers. But the petition which made the greatest noise was that from the city of London, for a total alteration of church government; to which sixteen thousand names were annexed⁴⁷.

The popular leaders, notwithstanding these indications of a fanatical disposition in the people, and though generally disaffected to episcopacy, resolved to proceed with caution, and overturn the hierarchy by degrees. With this view, they introduced a bill prohibiting all clergymen from the exercise of any civil office. The bishops were consequently to be deprived of their seats in the house of peers; a measure very acceptable to the zealous friends of liberty, who had observed with regret the devoted subserviency of the ecclesiastical order to the will of the monarch.

Charles, who had remained passive during all the violent proceedings of the present parliament, was A. D. 1641. now roused by the danger that threatened his favourite episcopacy; which was, indeed, the great pillar of the throne. He sent for the members of both houses to Whitehall, and told them, that he intended to reform all innovations in church and state, and to reduce matters of religion and government to what they were in the purest times of queen Elizabeth⁴⁸. "But

⁴⁶ Hume, vol. vi.

⁴⁷ Clarendon, vol. i.

⁴⁸ If the majority of the commons, or at least of the leading men among them, had not been inclined to the total overthrow of the church and monarchy, a fair opportunity was here afforded them of effecting a thorough reconciliation of parties, by a temperate reformation of civil and ecclesiastical abuses.

some men," said he, "encouraged by the sitting of this parliament, more maliciously than ignorantly, put no difference between *reformation* and *alteration* of government. Though I am for the former," added he, "I cannot give way to the latter. I will not say that bishops may not have overstretched their spiritual power, or encroached upon the temporal; which if you find, correct and reform the abuse, according to the wisdom of former times: and so far I am with you. Nay, farther; if, upon serious debate, you shall show me, that bishops have some temporal authority inconvenient to the state, and not necessary to the church for the support of episcopacy, I shall not be unwilling to persuade them to lay it down. Yet by this you must understand that I cannot consent to the taking away of their *voice in parliament*; a privilege which they anciently enjoyed under so many of my predecessors, even before the Conquest, and ever since, and which I conceive I am bound to maintain as one of the fundamental institutions of this kingdom⁴⁹."

The king, however, was soon freed from all immediate apprehensions on this subject by the peers, a great majority of whom rejected the bill. But the puritan members of the other house, to show how little they were discouraged, brought in a bill for the abolition of episcopacy; and although they thought proper to let it rest for a while, their purpose was not the less sincere. Other affairs demanded their present attention. They procured the royal sanction to a bill, declaring it unlawful to levy the duties of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament: after which, they resolved, by another act, to prevent the discontinuance of parliaments above three years.— Though, by this measure and its concomitants, some of the noblest and most valuable privileges of the crown were retrenched, such a law was indispensibly necessary for completing a regular plan of law and liberty. "Let no man," said the spirited and artful Digby, who knew well the importance of the bill, "object any derogation from the king's prerogative by it. His honour, his power, will be as conspicuous in commanding that a parliament shall assemble every third year, as in commanding a parliament to be called this or that year. There is more majesty in ordaining primary and universal causes than in actuating subordinate effects. In chasing ill ministers," added he emphatically, "we do but dissipate clouds that may gather again: but, in voting this bill, we shall perpetuate our sun, our sovereign, in his vertical, his noon-day lustre⁵⁰." Charles, finding that nothing less would sa-

⁴⁹ Parl. Hist. vol. ix.

⁵⁰ Parl. Hist. vol. xi.

tisify his parliament and people, gave his reluctant assent to the bill.

The victory of the commons was now complete ; and, had they used it with moderation, the members of this parliament would have merited the praise of all sincere lovers of their country, as well as of the enthusiasts of liberty. Nor would their subsequent abolition of the arbitrary courts of star-chamber and high-commission, so grievous to the nation, be imputed to them as cause of blame. But their cruel persecution of the earl of Strafford, and their subsequent encroachments upon the king's authority, which involved the three kingdoms in all the horrors of civil war, must render their patriotism very questionable in the opinion of every dispassionate man. Their unjustifiable encroachments on the authority of Charles we shall afterwards have occasion to consider : here we must examine the progress of their vengeance against his minister, whose high reputation, for experience and capacity, made them regard his death as their only security for success in their farther attacks upon the throne.

In consequence of this idea, the impeachment of Strafford had been pushed on with the utmost vigour. After he had been sent to the tower, a select committee of both houses received orders to prepare a charge against him, with authority to examine all witnesses, to call for every paper, and to use all the modes of scrutiny, in regard to any part of the earl's behaviour or conduct⁵¹ : and, (as Mr. Hume remarks), after so general and unbounded an inquisition, exercised by such powerful and implacable enemies, a man who had acted in a variety of public stations must have been very cautious, or very innocent, not to afford, during the whole course of his proceedings, some matter of accusation against him. Nothing, however, was found against the prisoner that could properly be brought under the description of treason ; a crime which the laws of England had defined with the most scrupulous exactness, in order to protect the subject against the violence of the king and his ministers. Aware of this, the commons attempted to prove that he had "endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom⁵² : " and, as the statute of treason made no mention of such a species of guilt, they invented a kind of accumulative or constructive evidence, by which many actions, either totally innocent in themselves, or criminal in an inferior degree, should, when united, amount to treason, and subject the person to the highest penalties inflicted by the law ; the king and parliament, as they asserted, having power to determine what is treason,

51 Clarendon, vol. i.

52 Rushworth, vol. iv.

and what is not. They accordingly voted that the facts proved against the earl, taken collectively, were treasonable⁵³.

Strafford defended himself with firmness and ability. After pleading to each particular article of the charge, he brought the whole together, in order to repel the imputation of treason. "Where," said he, "has this species of guilt been so long concealed? Where has this fire been so long buried, during so many centuries, that no smoke should appear, till it burst out at once to consume me and my children? It were better to live under no law at all, and, by the maxims of cautious prudence, to conform ourselves the best we can to the arbitrary will of a master, than fancy we have a law on which we can rely, and find at last that this law shall inflict a punishment precedent to the promulgation, and try us by maxims unheard of till the very moment of prosecution. If I sail on the Thames, and split my vessel on an anchor; in case there be no buoy to give me warning, the party shall pay me damages; but if the anchor be marked out, then is the striking on it at my own peril. Where is the mark set upon this crime? where the token by which I should discover it? It has lain concealed under water; and no human prudence, no human innocence, could teach me to avoid it, or save me from the destruction with which I am at present threatened.

"It is now full two hundred and eighty years since treasons were defined; and so long has it been since any man was touched to this extent, upon this crime, before myself. We have lived, my lords, happy to ourselves at home; we have lived gloriously abroad to the world: let us be content with what our fathers left; let not our ambition carry us to be more learned than they were, in these killing and destructive arts. Great wisdom it will be in your lordships, and just providence for yourselves, for your posterity, for the whole kingdom, to cast from you, into the fire, these bloody and mysterious volumes of *arbitrary* and *constructive treasons*, as the primitive Christians did their books of curious arts, and betake yourselves to the plain *letter* of the *statute*, which tells you where the crime is, and points out to you the path by which you may avoid it.

"Let us not, to our own destruction, awake those sleeping lions, by rattling up a company of old records, which have

⁵³ Rushworth, vol. iv.—As a proof how far the popular leaders were hurried away by their vindictive passions, it will be sufficient to quote the speech of Mr. St. John, who affirmed that Strafford had no title to plead law, because he had endeavoured to destroy the law. "It is true," said he, "we give law to hares and deers, for they are beasts of chase; but it was never accounted cruel or unfair to destroy foxes and wolves, wherever they can be found, for they are beasts of prey!" Clarendon, vol. i.

lain for so many ages by the wall, forgotten, and neglected. To all my afflictions add not this, my lords, the most severe of any ; that I for my own sins, not for my treasons, be the means of introducing a precedent so pernicious to the laws and liberties of my native country. These gentlemen at the bar, however, say they speak for the commonwealth ; and they may believe so : yet, under favour, it is I who, in this particular, speak for the commonwealth. Precedents like those which are endeavoured to be established against me must draw along with them such inconveniences and miseries, that, in a few years, the kingdom will be in the condition expressed in a statute of Henry IV.—*no man shall know by what rule to govern his words or actions.*

“ Impose not, my lords, difficulties insurmountable upon ministers of state, nor disable them from serving with cheerfulness their king and country. If you examine them, and under such severe penalties, by every grain, by every little weight, the scrutiny will be intolerable : the public affairs of the kingdom must be left waste ; for no wise man, who has any honour or fortune to lose, will ever engage himself in such dreadful, such unknown perils.

“ My lords, I have now troubled your lordships too long ; a great deal longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest of these dear pledges, which a saint in heaven has left me. I should be loth”—Here his grief deprived him of utterance. He let fall a tear, pointed to his children, who were placed near him, and thus proceeded:—“ What I forfeit for myself is a trifle ; but that my indiscretion should forfeit for them, I confess, wounds me very deeply. You will be pleased to pardon my infirmity”—again dropping a tear. “ Something I should have added, but find I shall not be able, and therefore shall leave it. And now, my lords, I thank God, I have been, by his good blessing, sufficiently instructed in the extreme vanity of all temporary enjoyments, compared to the importance of our eternal duration ; and so, my lords, even so, with all humility, and with all tranquillity of mind, I submit, clearly and freely, to your judgments ; and whether that righteous doom shall be life or death, I shall repose myself, full of gratitude and confidence in the arms of the great Author of my existence⁵⁴. ”

Certainly, says Whitelocke, never any man acted such a part, on such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgment, and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and gestures, than did this great and excellent person : and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, some

few excepted, to remorse and pity⁵⁵. It is truly remarkable, that the historian, who makes these candid and liberal observations, was himself chairman of that committee which conducted the impeachment against this unfortunate nobleman !

The accusation and defence lasted eighteen days ; and Strafford behaved with so much modesty and humility, as well as firmness and vigour, that the commons, though aided by all the weight of authority, would have found it impossible to obtain a sentence against him, if the peers had not been over-awed by the tumultuous populace. Reports were every day spread of the most alarming plots and conspiracies ; and about six thousand men, armed with swords and cudgels, flocked from the city, and surrounded the two houses of parliament. When any of the lords passed, the cry for justice against Strafford resounded in their ears ; and such as were suspected of friendship for that obnoxious minister, were menaced with the vengeance of the furious multitude⁵⁶. Intimidated by these threats, only forty-five, out of about eighty peers who had constantly attended this important trial, were present when the bill of attainder was brought into the house, and nineteen of that number had the courage to vote against it⁵⁷ ; a strong presumption that, if no danger had been apprehended, it would have been rejected by a considerable majority.

Popular violence having thus far triumphed, it was next employed to extort the king's consent. Crowds of people besieged Whitehall, and seconded their demand of justice on the minister, with the loudest clamours, and most open threatenings against the monarch. Rumours of plots and conspiracies against the parliament were anew circulated ; invasions and insurrections were apprehended ; and the whole nation was raised into such a ferment, as seemed to portend some great and immediate convulsion. On whichever side the king turned his eyes, he saw no resource or security, except in submitting to the will of the populace. His courtiers, consulting their own personal safety, and perhaps their interest, more than their master's honour, advised him to pass the bill of attainder; the pusillanimous judges, when consulted, declared it legal ; and the queen, who formerly bore no good-will toward Strafford, alarmed at the appearance of so frightful a danger, as that to which the royal family must be exposed by protecting him, now became an importunate solicitor for his death. She hoped, if the people were gratified in this demand, that their discontents would finally subside ; and that, by such a measure, she should acquire a more absolute ascendancy over the king, as well as some credit with the popular party. Bishop Juxon alone, in this trying extremity, had ho-

⁵⁵ Mem. p. 43.

⁵⁶ Clarendon, vol. i.

⁵⁷ Whitlocke, p. 43.

nesty or courage to offer an opinion worthy of his prince : he advised him, if he did not think the prisoner criminal, by no means to give his assent to the bill⁵⁸.

While Charles was struggling between virtue and necessity, he received a letter from Strafford, entreating him, for the sake of public peace, to put an end to the innocent life of his unhappy servant, and thus to quiet the tumultuous people, by granting them that request for which they were so clamorous. "In this," added he, "my consent will more acquit you to God, than all the world can do besides : to a willing man there is no injury⁵⁹. And as, by God's grace, I forgive all the world, with a calmness and meekness of infinite contentment to my dislodging soul, so to you, sir, I can resign the life of this world with all imaginable cheerfulness in the just acknowledgment of your exceeding favours⁶⁰."

This illustrious effort of disinterestedness, worthy of the noble mind of Strafford, and equal to any instance of generosity recorded in the annals of mankind, was ill-rewarded by Charles : who, after a little more hesitation, as if his scruples had been merely of the religious kind, granted a commission to four noblemen to give the royal assent, in his name, to the bill. These commissioners were empowered, at the same time, to give assent to a bill, that the parliament then sitting, should not be dissolved, prorogued, or adjourned, without the consent of the majority of the members⁶¹ ; a bill of yet more fatal consequence to his authority than the other, as it rendered the power of his enemies perpetual, as well as uncontrollable. But, in the moment of remorse for assenting to the bill of attainder, by which he deemed himself an accomplice in the murder of his friend, this enormous concession appears to have escaped his penetration, and to have been considered comparatively as a trivial point.

The king might still have saved his minister, by granting him a reprieve; but that was not thought adviseable, while the minds

58 Clarendon, vol. i.—This opinion has been cavilled at. "A king of England," it has been said, "ought never to interpose his private opinion against the other parts of the legislature." If so, the royal assent is a matter of mere form ; and, perhaps, in most cases, it ought to be so. But, in the present instance, the king was surely the best judge, whether Strafford, as a minister, had advised the subversion of the constitution ; or, as an officer, had exceeded the extent of his commission : and, if he was blameable in neither capacity, Charles was bound, both in honour and conscience, to withhold his assent from the bill. The royal assent is not, at present, necessary to bills of attainder ; the jealousy of our constitution having cut off that, among other dangerous prerogatives.

59 It appears that the king had sent a letter to Strafford during his confinement, in which he assured him, upon the word of a king, that he should not suffer in life, honour, and fortune. *Strafford's Letters*, vol. ii.

60 Clarendon, vol. i.—Rushworth, vol. v.

61 *Id. ibid.*

of men were in such agitation. He sent, however, by the hands of the prince of Wales, a letter addressed to the peers, in which he entreated them to confer with the commons about a mitigation of the prisoner's sentence, or at least to procure some delay. Both requests were rejected; and Strafford, finding his fate inevitable, prepared to meet death with the same dignity with which he had lived. In those awful moments of approaching dissolution, though neither cheered by that ray of popular immortality which beams upon the soul of the expiring patriot, nor consoled by the affectionate sorrow of the spectators, his erect mind found resources within itself; and, supported by the sentiment of conscious integrity, maintained its unbroken resolution amid the terrors of death and the triumphant exultations of his vindictive enemies. His discourse, and also his deportment on the scaffold, discovered equal composure and courage. "The shedding of innocent blood," said he, "as a propitiatory sacrifice, is a bad omen, I fear, of the intended reformation of the state:" And on preparing himself for the block, he made this memorable declaration: "I thank God I am no way afraid of death, nor daunted with any terrors; but do as cheerfully lay down my head at this time, as ever I did when going to repose!" He accordingly submitted to his doom, and was beheaded at one blow⁶².

May 12. Thus, my dear Philip, perished, in the forty-ninth year of his age, Thomas Wentworth, earl of Strafford, the last great prop of royalty in the turbulent reign of Charles I. His character has been severely handled by our zealous republican writers; but by none of them has it been so completely mangled as by a furious female, who will allow him neither virtue nor talents. But his abilities as a statesman, and his unshaken attachment to his master, you will readily perceive, were the chief causes of his ruin; and in the future proceedings of that parliament, to whose resentment he fell a sacrifice, you will find the best apology for his administration. A certain degree of vigour (and more perhaps than Strafford exerted), was necessary to preserve the church and monarchy from the ravages of those civil and religious enthusiasts, who soon overturned both.

The immediately subsequent proceedings of the commons, however, though inroads on the royal prerogative, were by no means reprehensible. They brought in a bill, which was unanimously passed by both houses, for the suppression of the star-chamber and high commission courts, so odious to all the lovers of liberty. By the same bill, the jurisdiction of the privy

council was regulated, and its authority abridged. Charles, after some hesitation, gave his assent to this statute, which produced a salutary change in our constitution. Several other arbitrary courts were abolished: and the king, at the request of his parliament, instead of patents during pleasure, gave all the judges patents during their good behaviour⁶³; an advance of the utmost importance toward the impartial administration of justice, and the exclusion of the influence of the crown from the ordinary courts of law.

In a word, if the commons had proceeded no farther, they would have deserved the praise of all the friends of freedom; and even the iniquity of Strafford's attainder, their most blameable measure, would have been lost amid the blaze of their beneficial provisions and necessary regulations, which had generally a reference to posterity. But, like all political bodies who had rapidly acquired power, having gone so far, they did not know where to stop; but advanced insensibly from one gradation to another, till they usurped the whole authority of the state.

Of these usurpations, and their consequences, I shall hereafter take notice; now observing, that the parliament, after sending home the Scots, and disbanding the English army, put a temporary stop to its proceedings; and that Charles paid a visit to North-Britain, with a view of settling the government to the satisfaction of the covenanters.

⁶³ Clarendon, vol. i.—Whitelocke, p. 47.—May, p. 107.

LETTER V.

History of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Execution of the Earl of Strafford, to the Beginning of the Great Rebellion in 1642.

WHEN Charles arrived in Scotland, he found his subjects of that kingdom elate with the success of their military expedition. Besides the large pay voted them for lying in good quarters at Newcastle, as long as the popular leaders had occasion for them, the English parliament had conferred on them a present of three hundred thousand pounds for their *brotherly assistance*¹. They were declared, in the articles of pacification, to have been *ever* good subjects; and their hostile irruptions were approved, as enterprises calculated and *intended* for his majesty's *honour* and *advantage*! To carry yet farther the triumph over the king,

¹ Nalson, vol. i.

these articles, containing terms so ignominious to him, were ordered, by a parliamentary vote, to be read in all churches, on a day of thanksgiving appointed for the national pacification².

People in such a humour were not likely to be satisfied with trifling concessions. The Scottish parliament began with abolishing the Lords of Articles; who, from their constitution, were supposed to be entirely devoted to the court, and without whose consent no motion could be made; a circumstance peculiarly grievous in the northern legislature, where the peers and commons formed only one house. A law for triennial parliaments was likewise passed; and it was ordained, that the last act of every parliament should appoint the time and place for holding the ensuing one. So far all perhaps was laudable; but subjects who encroach on the authority of their prince never know where to draw the line. In their rage for redressing grievances, they invaded the most essential branches of royal prerogative. The king was in a manner dethroned in Scotland, by an article, which declared, that no member of the privy council (in whose hands, during the king's absence, the whole administration was vested,) no officer of state, and none of the judges, should be appointed but by the advice and approbation of parliament³.

To these encroachments Charles quietly submitted, in order to satisfy his Scottish subjects, and was preparing to return to England, in hopes of completing a similar plan of pacification, when he received intelligence that a bloody rebellion had broken out in Ireland, accompanied with circumstances of cruelty and devastation which fill the soul with horror. Surrounded by melancholy incidents and humiliating demands, nature and fortune, no less than faction and fanaticism, seemed to have conspired the ruin of this unhappy prince.

The conduct of James I. with regard to the affairs of Ireland, was truly politic; and the same plan of administration was pursued by Charles; namely, to reconcile the turbulent natives to the authority of law, by the regular distribution of justice, and to cure them of that sloth and barbarism to which they had ever been addicted, by introducing arts and industry among them. For these salutary purposes, and also to secure the dominion of Ireland to the crown of England, great numbers of British subjects had been carried over to that island, and colonies planted in different parts of it; so that, after a peace of near forty years, the inveterate quarrels between the two nations not only seemed to be obliterated, but the country in general wore a less savage aspect.

² Rushworth, vol. v.

³ Burnet's Mem. of the House of Hamilton.

To the tranquillity, as well as the prosperity of Ireland, the vigorous government of the earl of Strafford had contributed not a little. During his administration, agriculture had made great advances, by means of the English and Scottish plantations; the shipping of the kingdom had been doubled; the customs trebled upon the same rates; and manufactures introduced and promoted⁴. But, soon after that minister had fallen a victim to popular fury, dignified with the forms of justice, the pleasing scene was overcast; and Charles found the parliament of that kingdom, as high in its pretensions as those of England and Scotland, and as ready to rise in its encroachments in proportion to his concessions. The court of high-commission was voted to be a grievance; martial law was abolished; the jurisdiction of the council annihilated, and proclamations and acts of state declared of no authority⁵.

The English colonists, who were the chief movers of these measures, did not perceive, in their rage for liberty, the danger of weakening the authority of government, in a country where the Protestants scarcely formed the sixth part of the inhabitants, and where two-thirds of the natives were still in a state of wild barbarity. The opportunity, however, thus afforded to them, did not escape the discernment of the old Irish. They observed with pleasure, every impolitic step, and determined on a general revolt, in order to free their country from the dominion of foreigners, and their religion from the insults of profane heretics. In this resolution they were encouraged by Roger More, who was distinguished among them by his valour and abilities.

More maintained a close correspondence with Lord Macguire and sir Phelim O'Neal, the most powerful of the old Irish chieftains; and he took every opportunity of representing to his countrymen, that the king's authority, in Britain, was reduced to so low an ebb, that he could not exert himself with any vigour in maintaining the English dominion over Ireland: that the Catholics in the Irish house of commons, assisted by the Protestants, had so diminished the royal prerogative, and the power of the lord lieutenant, as to facilitate the conducting of any conspiracy that should be formed; that the Scots in having so successfully thrown off dependence on the crown of England, and taken the government into their own hands, had set an example to the Irish, who had much greater grievances to complain of; that the English planters, who had expelled them from their ancient possessions, were but a handful in comparison with

⁴ Warwick's Memoirs, p. 115.—Rushworth, vol. iv.—Nelson, vol. ii.—Strafford may be said to have given a beginning to the linen manufacture in Ireland, now the great staple of that country.

⁵ Id. *ibid*.

the original inhabitants ; that they lived in the most supine security, interspersed with their numerous enemies, and trusting to the protection of a small army, which was itself scattered in inconsiderable divisions throughout the kingdom ; that a body of eight thousand men, raised and disciplined by government, in order to suppress the rebellion in Scotland, were now thrown loose, and ready for any daring or desperate enterprise⁶ ; that, although the Catholics had hitherto, from the moderation of their indulgent prince, enjoyed in some measure the exercise of their religion, they must expect that the government would thenceforth be conducted by other maxims and other principles ; that the puritanical leaders of the parliament having, at last, subdued the sovereign, would doubtless extend their ambitious views and fanatical politics to Ireland, as soon as they had consolidated their authority, and make the Catholics in that kingdom feel the same furious persecution to which their brethren in England were already exposed ; that a people, taking arms to rescue their native country from the dominion of foreign invaders, could at no time be considered as rebels ; still less could the Irish be regarded as such during the present disorders, when royal authority, to which alone they could owe any obedience, was in a manner usurped by a set of desperate heretics, from whom they could expect no favour or indulgence, but might apprehend every violence and severity⁷.

Influenced by these considerations, all the heads of the native Irish engaged in the conspiracy ; and it was not doubted that the old planters (or the *English of the Pale*, as they were called), being all Catholics, would afterwards join in an attempt to restore their religion to its ancient splendor. The beginning of winter was fixed for the commencement of this revolt, that there might be greater difficulty in transporting forces from England, and the plan was, that sir Phelim O'Neal and his confederates should, on one day, attack all the provincial English settlements ; while lord Macguire and Roger More, on the same day, should surprise the castle of Dublin.

6 The English commons entertained the greatest apprehensions on account of this army, the officers of which were Protestants, but the private men Catholics ; and importuned the king with solicitations till he agreed to disband it. Nor would they consent to his augmenting the standing army to five thousand men ; a number which he judged necessary to retain Ireland in obedience. They even frustrated an agreement, which he had made with the Spanish ambassador, to have the former troops transported into Flanders, and enlisted in his master's service ; Charles thinking it dangerous, that eight thousand men accustomed to idleness, and trained to the use of arms, should be dispersed among a people so turbulent and predatory as the Irish. Clarendon, vol. i.—Rushworth, vol. v.—Dugdale, p. 57.

7 Sir John Temple's History of the Irish Rebellion.

A concurrence of favourable circumstances seemed to have rendered the success of this undertaking infallible. The Irish Catholics discovered such a propensity to revolt, that it was not thought necessary to trust the secret to many persons ; and the appointed day drew nigh without any discovery having been made to government. The earl of Leicester, whom the king had appointed lord lieutenant, remained in London; and the two chief justices, sir William Parsons and sir John Borlase, were men of slender abilities. The attempt upon the castle of Dublin, however, was defeated by one O'Conolly, who betrayed the conspiracy to Parsons. More escaped, Macguire was taken ; and Mac-Mahon, another of the conspirators, also being seised, discovered to the justices the project of a general insurrection, and increased the terror and consternation of the Protestants*.

But this intelligence, though it saved Dublin, was obtained too late to enable the government to prevent the intended rebellion. O'Neal and his associates immediately took arms Oct. 23. in Ulster. They began with seising the houses, cattle, and goods of the unwary English and Scottish settlers, whom they hated on account of their religion, and envied for their riches and prosperity. After rapacity had fully exerted itself, cruelty began its operations : a general massacre commenced of the English Protestants, now defenceless, and passively resigned to their inhuman foes, who exercised on them a degree of barbarity unequalled in the history of any other nation, and at which credibility is startled. No age, no sex, no condition, were spared: the wife weeping over her murdered husband, and embracing her helpless children, was butchered with them, and even pierced by the same stroke ; all the ties of blood and of society were dissolved ; and friends, relatives and companions, were hunted down by their kindred and connexions, and involved in one common ruin, by those whom they had formerly considered as most sincerely attached to their persons, and who were most near and dear to them !⁹ The women, forgetting the character of their sex, emulated the men in the practice of horrible acts of cruelty ; in comparison with some of which, death might be regarded as a light punishment, and even as a happy release from pain.

Amidst these diabolical enormities, the sacred name of religion resounded on every side ; not to arrest the fury of the murderers, but to enforce their blows, and to steel their hearts against every movement of natural or social sympathy. The English Protestants were marked out by the Catholic priests for slaughter, as heretics abhorred of God, and detestable to all holy men.

8 Sir John Temple.—Rushworth, vol. v

9 Temple.—Rushworth.

Perfidy and cruelty were accordingly declared to be meritorious: and if a number of Englishmen assembled together, in order to defend themselves to extremity, and to sweeten death at least by taking revenge on their destroyers, they were disarmed by capitulations and promises of safety, confirmed by the most solemn oaths. But no sooner had they surrendered than the rebels made them share the same fate with former victims. Nor was this all. While death finished the sufferings of each object of cruelty, the bigoted assassins, with joy and exultation, still echoed in his ears, that these dying agonies were but a prelude to torments infinite and eternal¹⁰.

Such were the barbarities, my dear Philip, by which sir Phe-lim O'Neal and the Irish in Ulster signalised their rebellion. The English colonies there were annihilated; and from Ulster the flames of rebellion suddenly spread over the three other provinces of Ireland, where the English had established settlements. In these provinces, however, though death and slaughter were not uncommon, the Irish pretended to act with greater moderation and humanity. But cruel, alas! was their humanity, and unfeeling their moderation. Not content with expelling the English planters from their houses, in the most brutal manner, seizing their possessions, and wasting their cultivated fields, they stripped them of their very clothes, and turned them out defenceless to all the severities of the season; while the heavens themselves, as if joining in conspiracy against the unhappy sufferers, were armed with cold and tempests unusual to the climate, and executed what the merciless sword had left unfinished¹¹. Even the English of the *Pale*, who at first pretended to blame the insurrection, and to detest the barbarity with which it was accompanied, soon found the interests of religion to prevail over their regard to their mother-country and their allegiance to their sovereign; and, joining the old Irish, rivalled them in every act of violence and cruelty against the English Protestants¹². The number of persons who perished by all these barbarities, is computed at forty thousand; and the principal army of the rebels, amounting to twenty thousand men, yet thirsting for further slaughter and richer spoils, now threatened Dublin, where the miserable remnant of the English planters had taken refuge¹³.

¹⁰ Temple, p. 94—188.—Whitelocke, p. 47.—Rushworth, vol. v.

¹¹ Temple's Hist.

¹² Both the English and Irish rebels conspired in one imposture, with which they seduced many of their deluded countrymen; they pretended authority from the king and queen, but chiefly from the latter, for their insurrection; and they affirmed that the cause of their taking arms was to vindicate the royal prerogative so shamefully invaded by the puritanical parliament. Rushworth, vol. v.

¹³ Whitelocke, p. 49.—Hume's Hist.

The king, while preparing to leave Edinburgh, as already observed, had received, by a messenger from the North of Ireland, an account of this dreadful insurrection, which every friend to humanity ought to hold in perpetual abhorrence¹⁴. He immediately communicated his intelligence to the Scottish parliament, hoping that the same zeal which had induced the covenanters twice to run to arms, and assemble troops in opposition to the rights of their sovereign, would make them fly to the relief of their Protestant brethren in Ireland, now labouring under the cruel persecutions of the Catholics. But the zeal of the Scots, as is usual among religious sects, was extremely feeble, when neither stimulated by a sense of interest nor by apprehensions of danger. They therefore resolved to make an advantageous bargain for the succours they should send to Ireland; and as the English commons, with whom they were already closely connected, could alone fulfil any article that might be agreed on, they sent commissioners to London, to treat with that order of the state to which the sovereign authority was really transferred¹⁵.

Thus disappointed in his expectation of aid from the Scots, and sensible of his own inability to subdue the Irish rebels, Charles was obliged to have recourse to the English parliament; to whose care and wisdom he imprudently declared he was willing to commit the conduct and prosecution of the war. The commons, who possessed alone the power of supply, and who had aggrandised themselves by the difficulties and distresses of the crown, seemed to consider it as a peculiar happiness, that the rebellion in Ireland had succeeded, at so critical a period, to the pacification of Scotland. They immediately took advantage of the expression by which the king committed to them the care of that island: and to this usurpation, the boldest they had yet made, Charles was obliged to submit, both because of his utter inability to resist, and lest he should expose himself still more to the infamous reproach with which he was already loaded by the puritans, of countenancing the Irish rebellion.

The commons, however, who had projected farther innova-

¹⁴ Many attempts have been made to throw a veil over the enormities of the Irish massacre. The natural love of independence, the tyranny of the English government, and the rapacity of the English soldiers, have been pleaded as powerful motives for rebellion, and strong incentives to vengeance, in the breasts of the injured and oppressed natives; and much trouble has been taken to prove, that the horrors of religious hate, though provoked by persecution, have been greatly exaggerated. But, from the vindictive and sanguinary disposition of the Irish Catholics in later times, we may easily believe that the description of the cruelties of their bigoted and barbarous ancestors has not been overcharged. The stimulating causes I have not concealed, nor have I concealed their effects. The general slaughter I have reduced as low even as Mr. Brooke, the author of the *Trial of the Roman Catholics of Ireland*, could wish; but truth forbids me to disguise the atrocious circumstances with which it was accompanied.

¹⁵ Rushworth, vol. v.

tions at home, took no steps towards suppressing the insurrection in Ireland, but such as also tended to give them the superiority in those commotions which they foresaw would soon be excited in England. They levied money under colour of the Irish expedition, but reserved it for enterprises that more nearly concerned them: they took arms from the king's magazines, under the same pretext, but kept them with a secret intention of employing them against himself. Whatever law they deemed necessary for their own aggrandisement was voted, under pretence of enabling them to recover Ireland; and if Charles withheld the royal assent, his refusal was imputed to those pernicious counsels which had at first excited the popish conspiracy in that kingdom, and which still threatened total destruction to the Protestant interest throughout his dominions¹⁶. And so great was the confidence of the people in those hypocritical zealots, whose votes breathed nothing but death and destruction to the rebels, that although no forces were sent to Ireland, and very little money was remitted during the deepest distress of the Protestants, the fault was never imputed to the parliament!

The commons in the mean time were employed in framing that famous remonstrance, which was soon after followed by such extraordinary consequences. It was not, as usual, addressed to the king, but was a declared appeal to the people. Besides gross falsehoods and malignant insinuations, it contained an enumeration of every unpopular measure which Charles had embraced, from the commencement of his reign to the calling of the parliament that framed it, accompanied with many jealous prognostics of future grievances; and the acrimony of the style was equal to the harshness of the matter.

A performance so full of gall, and so obviously intended to excite general dissatisfaction, after the ample concessions made by the crown, was not only regarded by all discerning men as a signal for farther attacks upon the royal prerogative, but as a certain indication of the approaching abolition of monarchical government in England. The opposition to the remonstrance, in the house of commons, was therefore very great. The debate upon it was warmly managed for above fourteen hours; and it was at last voted only by a small majority, seemingly in consequence of the weariness of the king's party, consisting chiefly of elderly men, many of whom had retired¹⁷. It was not sent up to the house of peers.

No sooner was the remonstrance of the commons published, than the king sent forth an answer to it. Sensible of the disad-

¹⁶ Clarendon, vol. ii.

¹⁷ Rushworth, vol. v.—Nelson, vol. ii.—Whitelocke, p. 49.—Dugdale, p. 71

vantages under which he laboured in this contest, he contented himself with observing, that, even during the period so much complained of, the people had enjoyed not only a greater share of happiness and prosperity than neighbouring countries could boast, but than England itself had enjoyed during times esteemed the most fortunate. He mentioned the great concessions made by the crown, protested his sincerity in the reformed religion, and reprobated the infamous libels every where dispersed against his person, government, and the established church. "If, notwithstanding these grants," added he, "any malignant party shall take heart, and be willing to sacrifice the peace and happiness of their country to their own sinister ends and ambition, under whatever pretence of religion and conscience; if they shall endeavour to lessen my reputation and interest, and to weaken my lawful power and authority; if they shall attempt, by discountenancing the present laws, to loosen the bands of government, that disorder and confusion may break in upon us: I doubt not that God, in his good time, will discover them to me, and that the wisdom and courage of my high court of parliament will join with me in their suppression and punishment¹⁸."

But the ears of the people were too much prejudiced against the king to listen patiently to any thing that he could offer in his own vindication; so that the commons proceeded in their usurpations upon the church and monarchy, and made their purpose of subverting both every day more evident. They had lately accused thirteen bishops of high crimes and misdemeanors, for enacting canons without consent of parliament, though no other method had ever been practised since the foundation of the government; and they now insisted, that the peers, upon this general accusation, should sequester those bishops from their seats in parliament, and commit them to prison. But the majority of the peers, who plainly foresaw the depression of the nobility as a necessary consequence of the farther encroachments of the commons, paid little regard to such an unreasonable request. Enraged at this and other checks, the popular leaders openly told the lords, that they themselves were the representative body of the whole kingdom, and that the peers were merely individuals who held their seats in a particular capacity; and therefore, "if their lordships would not consent to the passing of acts necessary for the preservation of the people, the commons must join such of the lords as were more sensible of the danger, and represent the matter to his majesty¹⁹."

This was a plain avowal of the democratical principles that began now to be propagated among the people, and which had

long prevailed in the house of commons, as well as a bold attempt to form a party among the lords. And the tide of popularity seized many of the peers, and hurried them into a deviation from the established maxims of civil policy. Of these the most considerable were the earls of Essex and Northumberland, lord Kimbolton, and lord Say and Sele ; men who, sensible that their credit was high with the nation, rashly ventured to encourage an enthusiastic spirit, which they soon found they wanted power to regulate or control.

The majority of the nobles, however, still took shelter under the throne ; and the commons, in order to procure a majority in the upper house, again had recourse to the populace. Amidst the greatest security, they affected continual fears of destruction to themselves and the nation²⁰ ; they even ordered halberts to be brought into the hall where they assembled ; and thus armed themselves against those desperate conspiracies, with which they pretended they were hourly threatened, and the feigned discoveries of which were industriously propagated among the credulous people. Multitudes flocked to Westminster, and insulted the bishops and such of the peers as adhered to the crown. The lords voted a declaration against these tumults, and sent it to the lower house ; but the commons refused their concurrence ; and to make their pleasure farther known, they ordered several seditious apprentices, who had been committed to prison, to be set at liberty²¹.

Thus encouraged, the populace crowded about Whitehall, and insulted and threatened the king and the royal family.—Such audacious behaviour roused the young gentlemen of the inns of court, who, with some reduced officers, undertook the defence of their sovereign ; and between them and the populace passed frequent skirmishes, which rarely ended without bloodshed. These gentlemen, by way of reproach, gave the fanatical insulters of majesty the name of *ROUNDHEADS*, on account of their short cropped hair, while the rabble called their more polished opponents, by reason of their being chiefly mounted on horseback, *CAVALIERS* ; names which became famous during the civil war that followed, and which contributed not a little to inflame the animosity between the parties, during the prelude to that contest, by affording the factious an opportunity to rendezvous under them, and signalise their mutual hatred, by the reproachful ideas that were affixed to them by each party, no less than by the political distinctions which they marked.

The Cavaliers, who affected a liberal way of thinking, as well as a gaiety and freedom of manners inconsistent with puritanical ideas, were represented by the Roundheads as a set of

²⁰ Journ. 16th and 30th of Nov. 1641.

²¹ Nalson, vol. ii.

abandoned profligates, equally destitute of religion and morals; the devoted tools of the court, and zealous abettors of arbitrary power. The Cavaliers, on the other hand, regarded the Roundheads as a gloomy, narrow-minded, fanatical herd, determined enemies to kingly power, and to all distinction of ranks in society. But in these characters, drawn by the passions of the two parties, we must not expect impartiality; both are certainly overcharged. The Cavaliers were, in general, sincere friends to liberty and the English constitution; nor were republican and levelling principles by any means general at first among the Roundheads, though they came at last to predominate. It must however be admitted, that the Cavaliers, in order to show their contempt of puritanical austerity, often carried their convivial humour to an indecent excess; and that the gloomy temper and religious extravagancies of the Roundheads afforded an ample field for the raillery of their facetious adversaries.

In consequence of these distinctions, and the tumults that accompanied them, the bishops, being easily known by their habits, and exposed to the most dangerous insults from the enraged sectaries, to whom they had long been obnoxious, were deterred from attending their duty in parliament. They, therefore, imprudently protested against all laws, votes, and resolutions, as null and void, which should pass during their forced and involuntary absence. The lords, incensed at this passionate step, desired a conference with the commons on the subject. The opportunity was eagerly seized by the lower-house; an impeachment of treason was sent up against twelve of the bishops, as endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws, and invalidate the authority of the legislature; and they were immediately ordered into confinement²².

The king, who had hastily approved the protest of the bishops, was soon after hurried into a greater indiscretion; an indiscretion which may be considered as the immediate cause of the civil war that ensued, and to which, or some similar violence, the popular leaders had long wished to provoke him by their intemperate language. They at last succeeded beyond their most sanguine hopes. Enraged to find that all his concessions only served to increase the demands of the commons; that the people, who, on his return from Scotland, had received him with expressions of duty and affection, were again roused to sedition; that the blackest calumnies were propagated against him, and a method of address adopted, not only unsuitable to a great prince, but which a private gentleman could not bear without

resentment ; he began to suspect that his government wanted vigour, and to ascribe these unexampled acts of insolence to his own facility of temper. In this opinion he was encouraged by the queen and the courtiers, who were continually reproaching him with indolence, and entreating him to display the majesty of a sovereign ; before which, as they fondly imagined, the daring usurpations of his subjects would shrink²³.

A. D. 1642. Charles, ever ready to adopt violent councils, and take advice from those who were inferior to himself in capacity, gave way to these arguments, and ordered the attorney-general to enter an accusation of high-treason against lord Kimbolton (afterward earl of Manchester) and five commoners; namely sir Arthur Haselrig, Holles, Hampden, Pym, and Strode. The chief articles of impeachment were, that they had traitorously laboured to subvert the fundamental laws and government of the kingdom, and to deprive the king of his regal power ; had endeavoured, by many foul aspersions on his majesty and his government, to alienate the affections of his people ; had invited and encouraged an hostile army to invade the kingdom : had employed force and terror to draw the parliament to their side ; had raised and countenanced tumults, and even levied war against their sovereign²⁴.

That so bold a measure should have been embraced at such a crisis, was matter of surprise to all men, and of sincere regret to the real friends of the constitution ; more especially as it did not appear that the members accused were more criminal than the body of the commons, except perhaps by the exertion of superior abilities. But whatever might be their guilt, it was evident, that, while the upper house was scarcely able to maintain its independence, it would never be permitted by the populace, had it even possessed courage and inclination, to pass a sentence which must totally subdue the lower house ; these five members being the very heads of the popular party, and the chief promoters of their ambitious projects.

The astonishment excited by this measure was soon, however, transferred to attempts more bold and precipitant. A serjeant at arms was sent to the house of commons, to demand, in the king's name, the five uncourtly members. He returned without any positive answer; and messengers were employed to arrest them wherever they might be found. The house voted this conduct to be a breach of privilege, and commanded every one to defend the liberty of the members. Irritated at so much opposition, the king went to the house of commons, in hopes
Jan. 5. of surprising the accused persons ; but they having pri-

²³ Clarendon, vol. ii.

²⁴ Whitelocke, p. 53.—Rushworth, vol. v.

vate intelligence of his resolution, had withdrawn before he entered²⁵.

His embarrassment, on this discovery, may be more easily conceived than described. Sensible of his imprudence when too late, and ashamed of the situation in which he found himself, "I assure you, on the word of a king," he said, "I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against these men in a fair and legal way; for I never meant any other. And now, since I see I cannot do what I came for, I think this no unfit occasion to repeat what I have said formerly; that whatever I have done in favour and to the good of my subjects, I do intend to maintain it." The commons were in the utmost disorder during his stay: and when he was departing, some members cried aloud, "Privilege! privilege²⁶!"

The house adjourned to the next day; and the accused members, to intimate the greater apprehension of personal danger, removed into the city the same evening. The citizens were in arms the whole night; and some incendiaries, or people actuated by their own fanatical fears, ran from gate to gate crying that the cavaliers, with the king at their head, were coming to burn the city. In order to show how little occasion there was for any such alarm, and what confidence he placed in the citizens, Charles went the next morning to Guildhall, attended only by three or four noblemen, and endeavoured to conciliate the affections of the lord-mayor and common-council. He had accused some men, he said, of high treason; and as he intended to proceed against them in a legal way, he hoped they would not meet with protection in the city. The citizens, however, shewed no inclination to give them up; and the king left the hall, little better satisfied than with his visit to the house of commons²⁷. In passing through the streets, he had the mortification to hear the insulting cry, "Privilege of parliament!" resound from every quarter; and one of the populace, more daring than the rest, saluted him with the words employed by the mutinous Israelites, when they abandoned Rehoboam their rash sovereign:—"To your tents, O Israel²⁸!"

When the commons met, they affected the utmost terror and dismay; and after voting, that they could not sit in the same place, until they had obtained satisfaction for the unparalleled breach of privilege committed by the king, and had a guard appointed for their security, they adjourned for some days. In the mean time a committee was ordered to sit in the metropolis, and inquire into every circumstance attending the king's entry into the house of commons; from all which was inferred an in-

²⁵ Whitelocke, p. 51.—Rushworth, vol. v.

²⁶ Whitelocke.

²⁷ Clarendon, vol. ii

²⁸ Rushworth, vol. v.

tention of offering violence to the parliament, by seizing, even in that house, his supposed adversaries, and murdering all who should make resistance. They met again, confirmed the votes of the committee, and hastily adjourned, as if exposed to the most imminent danger. This practice they frequently repeated; and when, by these affected panics, they had filled the minds of the people with the most dreadful apprehensions, and inflamed them with enthusiastic rage against the court, the accused members were conducted by the city militia, in a kind of military triumph, to Westminster, in order to resume their seats in the house; the populace, as they passed Whitehall, by land and water, frequently asking, with insulting shouts, "What is become of the king and his cavaliers²⁹?"

Apprehensive of danger from the furious multitude, Charles had retired to Hampton-court, where, overwhelmed with grief and shame for his misconduct, he had leisure to reflect on the fatal measures into which he had been hurried. He saw himself involved in a situation the most distressing, entirely by his own precipitancy and indiscretion; and how to extricate himself with honour he could not discover: his friends were discouraged, his enemies triumphant, and the people seemed ripe for rebellion. Without submission his ruin appeared to be inevitable: but to make submission to subjects, was what his kingly pride could not bear; yet to that humiliating expedient, which in his present circumstances seemed to be the most advisable, he at last had recourse. In successive messages to the commons, he told them, that he would desist from his prosecution of the accused members; that he would grant them a pardon; that he would concur in any law that should acquit or secure them; that he would make reparation to the house for the breach of privilege, of which he acknowledged they had reason to complain; and he declared that for the future, he would be as careful of the privileges of parliament as of his own crown and life³⁰. This was yielding too far; but the uneasy mind is naturally carried from one extreme to another, in attempting to repair its errors.

If the king's violence rendered him hateful, his unreserved submission made him contemptible to the commons. They thought he could now deny them nothing, and therefore refused to accept any concessions for the breach of privilege, unless he would discover his advisers in that illegal measure. But Charles, whose honour as a gentleman was sacred and inviolable, had still sufficient spirit to reject with disdain a condition which would have rendered him for ever despicable, and unworthy of all friendship or confidence. He had already shown to the nation, had the nation, not been blinded with fanaticism,

²⁹ Whitelocke.—Dugdale.

³⁰ Dugdale, p. 84.—Rushworth. vol. v.

that if he had violated the rights of parliament, which was still a question with many³¹, he was willing to make every possible reparation, and yield any satisfaction not inconsistent with the integrity of his moral character.

The commons continued to declaim against the violation of parliamentary privileges, and to inflame the discontents of the people. For this purpose they had recourse to the old expedient of petitioning, so flattering to human pride!—as it affords the meanest member of the community an opportunity of instructing the highest, and of feeling his own consequence, in the right of offering such instructions. A petition from Buckinghamshire was presented to the house by six thousand men, who promised to live and die in defence of the privileges of parliament. One of the like nature was presented from the city of London; and petitions were delivered from many other places; even a petition from the apprentices was graciously received, and one from the porters was encouraged. The beggars, and even the women, were seized with the same rage. A brewer's wife, followed by many thousands of her sex, brought a petition to the house; in which they pressed their terrors of papists and prelates, rapes and massacres, and claimed a right equal to that of the men, in communicating their sense of the public danger, since Christ had died for them as well as for the other sex. The apprentices were loud in the praise of liberty, and bold in their threats against arbitrary power. The porters complained of the decay of trade, and desired that justice might be done upon offenders, according to the atrocity of their crimes: and they added, “that if such remedies were any longer suspended, they would be forced to extremities not fit to be named.” The beggars, as a remedy for public miseries, proposed, “that those noble worthies of the house of peers, who concurred with the happy votes of the commons, might separate themselves from the rest, and sit and vote as one entire body³².” This language, which could not be misunderstood, was evidently dictated by the commons themselves.

31 No maxim in law, it was said, is more established, or more generally allowed, than that privilege of parliament extends not to treason, felony, or breach of peace; that it was never pretended by any one, that the hall where the parliament assembles is an inviolable sanctuary; that if the commons complained of the affront offered them by an attempt to arrest their members in their very presence, the blame must lie entirely upon themselves, who had refused compliance with the king's message, when he peaceably demanded these members; that the sovereign is the great executor of the laws; and that his presence was here legally employed, both in order to prevent opposition, and to protect the house against those insults which their disobedience had merited.—(Howel's *Inspection into the Carriage of the late Long Parliament*.—Hume, chap. lv.) But, whatever might be urged in favour of the legality of Charles's attempt to seize the accused members, no one pretended to vindicate the prudence either of that or the ascension. To impeach the heads of a faction during the full tide of its power, was indeed attempting to fetter the waves.

32 Clarendon, vol. ii.—Rushworth, vol. v.

While these inflammatory petitions were received with the warmest expressions of approbation, all petitions which favoured the church or monarchy were discountenanced, and those interested in them were imprisoned and prosecuted as delinquents. In a word, by the present fury of the people, as by an inundation, was swept away all opposition in both houses, and every rampart of royal authority was laid level with the ground. The king, as appeared from the votes on the remonstrance, had a strong party in the lower house; and in the house of peers he had a great majority, even after the bishops were chased away. But now, when the populace were ready to execute, on the least hint, the will of their leaders, it was not safe for any member to approach either house, who pretended to oppose the general torrent.

Thus possessed of an undisputable majority in both houses, the popular leaders, who well knew the importance of such a favourable moment, pursued their victory with vigour and despatch. The bills sent up by the commons, and which had hitherto been rejected by the peers, were now passed and presented for the royal sanction; namely, a bill empowering the parliament to impress men into the service, under pretence of suppressing the rebellion in Ireland, and the long-contested bill for depriving the bishops of the privilege of voting in the house of lords. The king's authority was reduced to so low an ebb, that a refusal would have been both hazardous and ineffectual; and the queen, being secretly threatened with an impeachment, prevailed on her husband speedily to pass those bills, in hopes of appeasing the rage of the multitude, until she could make her escape to Holland³³.

But these important concessions, like all the former, served only as a foundation for more important demands. Encouraged by the facility of the king's disposition, the commons regarded the smallest relaxation in their invasion of royal authority as highly impolitic at such a crisis. They were fully sensible, that the monarchical government would regain some part of its former dignity, as soon as the present storm should subside, in spite of all their recent limitations; yet that it would not be safe to attempt the entire abolition of an authority to which the nation had been so long accustomed, before they were in possession of the sword—which alone could guard their usurped power, or ensure their personal safety against the rising indignation of their insulted sovereign. To this point, therefore, they directed all their views. They conferred the government of Hull, where was a large magazine of arms, on

sir John Hotham; they sent orders to Goring, governor of Portsmouth, to obey no commands but such as he should receive from the parliament; and they obliged the king to displace sir John Byron, a man of unexceptionable character, and bestow the government of the Tower on sir John Conyers, in whom alone, they said, they could place confidence³⁴.

These were bold steps; but a bolder measure was deemed necessary by the commons, before they could accomplish the ruin of royal authority; and that was, the acquisition of the command of the militia, which would at once give them the whole power of the sword, there being at that time no regular troops in England, except those which the commons themselves had levied for suppressing the Irish rebellion. With this view they brought in a bill, by the express terms of which the lord-lieutenants of counties or principal officers of the militia, who were all named in it, were to be accountable, not to the king, but to the parliament. Charles here ventured to put a stop to his concessions, though he durst not hazard a flat denial. He only requested, that the military authority should be allowed to remain in the crown: and, if that should be admitted, he promised to bestow commissions, but revocable at pleasure, on the very persons named in the bill. But the commons, whose object was nothing less than sovereignty, imperiously replied, that the danger and distempers of the nation were such as could endure no longer delay; and, unless the king should speedily comply with their demands, a regard for the safety of prince and people would urgently require a disposal of the militia by the authority of both houses.

But what was more extraordinary than all this, while the commons thus menaced the king with their power, they invited him to fix his residence in London, where they knew he would be entirely at their mercy. "I am so much amazed at this message," said Charles, in his prompt reply, "that I know not what to answer. You speak of jealousies and fears! Lay your hands on your hearts, and ask yourselves, whether I may not likewise be disturbed with fears and jealousies; and if so, I assure you that this message has nothing lessened them. As to the militia, I thought so much of it before I gave that answer, and am so much assured, that the answer is agreeable to what, in justice or reason, you can ask, or I in honour grant, that I shall not alter it in any point. For my residence near you, I wish it might be safe and honourable, and that I had no cause to absent myself from Whitehall: ask yourselves whether I have not. What would you have? Have I denied to

pass any bill for the ease and security of my subjects? I do not ask what ye have done for me. Have any of my people been transported with fears and apprehensions? I offer as free and general a pardon as yourselves can devise. All this considered, there is a judgment of Heaven upon this nation, if these distractions continue. God so deal with me and mine, as all my thoughts and intentions are upright for the maintenance of the true Protestant profession, and for the observance and preservation of the laws; and I hope God will bless and assist those laws for my preservation⁵⁵."

The firmness of this reply surprised the commons, but did not discourage them from prosecuting their ambitious aim. They had gone too far to retract; they therefore voted, that those who advised his majesty's answer were enemies to the state, and mischievous projectors against the safety of the nation; that this denial was of such dangerous consequence, that, if his majesty should persist in it, it would hazard the peace and tranquillity of all his kingdoms, unless some speedy remedy should be applied by the wisdom and authority of parliament; and that such of the subjects as had put themselves in a posture of defence, against the common danger, had done nothing but what was justifiable, and approved by the house. And, in order to induce the people to second these usurpations, by arming themselves more generally, extraordinary panics were spread throughout the nation, by rumours of intended massacres and invasions.

Alarmed at those threatening appearances, and not without apprehensions that force might be employed to extort his assent to the militia bill, the king thought it prudent to remove to a greater distance from London. Accompanied by the prince of Wales and the duke of York, he retired beyond the Humber, and made the city of York, for a time, the seat of his court. The queen had already taken refuge in Holland. There she resided with her daughter Mary, who had been given in marriage to William II. prince of Orange.

In the northern parts of his kingdom, where the church and monarchy were still respected, Charles found himself of more consequence than in the capital or its neighbourhood, where the fury of fanaticism predominated. The marks of attachment shown him at York exceeded his fondest expectations. The principal nobility and gentry, from all quarters of England, either personally or by letters, expressed their duty toward him, and exhorted him to save them from that democratical tyranny with which they were menaced.

Finding himself supported by so considerable a body of his subjects, the king began to assume a firmer tone, and to retort

with spirit the accusations of the commons. As he persisted in refusing the militia-bill, they had framed an ordinance, in which, by the sole authority of the two houses of parliament, they had named lieutenants for all the counties, and conferred on them the command of the whole military force of the kingdom. He issued proclamations against this violent procedure ; and declared, that, as he had formed a resolution strictly to observe the laws himself, he was determined that every one should yield a like obedience. The commons on their part, were neither destitute of vigour nor of address. In order to cover their usurped authority with a kind of veil, and to confound in the minds of the people the ideas of duty and allegiance, they, in all their commands, bound the persons to whom they were directed, to obey the orders of his majesty, signified by both houses of parliament³⁶. Thus, by an unusual distinction between the office and the person of the king, they employed the royal name to the subversion of royal authority !

The chief object of both parties being the acquisition of the favour of the people, each was desirous to throw on the other the odium of involving the nation in civil discord. With this view, a variety of memorials, remonstrances, and declarations, were dispersed. In the war of the pen, the royalists were supposed to have greatly the advantage. The king's memorials were chiefly composed by himself and lord Falkland, who had accepted the office of secretary of state, and whose virtues and talents were of the most amiable and exalted kind. In these papers Charles endeavoured to clear up the principles of the constitution ; to mark the boundaries of the powers intrusted by law to the several orders in the state ; to show what great improvements the whole political system had received from his late concessions ; to demonstrate his entire confidence in his people ; and to point out the ungrateful returns which had been made to that confidence and those concessions. The parliament, on the other hand, exaggerated all his unpopular measures ; and attempted to prove, that their whole proceedings were necessary for the preservation of religion and liberty³⁷.

But, whatever advantage either side might gain by these writings, both were sensible that the sword must ultimately decide the dispute : and they began to prepare accordingly. The troops which had been raised under pretence of the Irish rebellion were now openly inlisted by the parliament for its own purposes, and the command of them given to the earl of Essex. Nor were new levies neglected. No less than four thousand men are said to have been inlisted in London in one day³⁸. And

³⁶ Rushworth, vol. v.³⁷ Rushworth, vol. v.³⁸ Vicar's God in the Mount.

the parliament having issued orders that loans of money and plate might be furnished, for maintaining their forces, such vast quantities of plate were brought to their treasurers, that they could hardly find room to stow it. Even the women gave up their ornaments, to support the cause of the godly against the malignant³⁹.

Very different was the king's situation. His preparations were far from being so forward as those of the parliament. To recover the confidence of his people, and remove all jealousy of violent counsels, he had resolved that the usurpations and illegal pretensions of the commons should be evident to the whole world. This he considered as of more importance to his interest than the collecting of magazines or the assembling of armies. But had he even been otherwise disposed, he would have found many difficulties to encounter ; for although he was attended by a splendid train of nobility, and by a numerous body of gentlemen of great landed property, supplies could not be raised without a connexion with the monied men, who were chiefly attached to the parliament, which had seized his revenues since the beginning of the contest concerning the militia bill. Yet was he not altogether unprepared. The queen, by disposing of the crown jewels, had been enabled to purchase a cargo of arms and ammunition in Holland. Part of these had arrived safe ; and Charles, finding that the urgent necessities of his situation would no longer admit of delay, prepared himself for defence, and roused his adherents to arms, with a spirit, activity, and address, that alike surprised his friends and his enemies. The resources of his genius on this as on all other occasions seemed to increase in proportion to the obstacles that arose. He never appeared so great as when plunged in distress or surrounded with perils.

The commons, however, conscious of their superiority in force, and determined to take advantage of it, yet desirous to preserve the appearance of a pacific disposition, proposed conditions on which they were willing to come to an agreement, but to which they knew the king would not submit. Their demands, contained in nineteen propositions, amounted to a total abolition of monarchical government, and would have involved in ruin the whole royal party. They required, that no man should remain in the privy council who had not the approbation of parliament ; that no deed of the sovereign should have validity, unless it should be sanctioned by the majority of the council ; that all the principal officers of state and chief judges should be chosen with consent of parliament, and enjoy their offices during life ; that none of the royal family should marry

without the same consent ; that the laws should be executed against Catholics ; that the votes of Popish lords should be excluded ; that the reformation of the liturgy and church-government should take place, according to the advice of the two houses ; that the late ordinance with regard to the military force should be submitted to ; that the justice of parliament should pass upon all delinquents, a general pardon be granted for all past offences (with such exceptions as should be advised by parliament), the forts and castles be disposed of by consent of parliament, and no peers be made but with the concurrence of both houses⁴⁰.

“ Should I grant these demands,” said Charles, in his animated reply, “ you may wait on me bareheaded ; I may have my hand kissed ; the title of majesty may be continued to me ; and *the King’s Authority, signified by both houses*, may still be the style of your commands : I may have swords and maces carried before me, and please myself with the sight of a crown and sceptre (though even these twigs would not long flourish, when the stock upon which they grew should be dead) ; but, as to true and real power, I should remain but the outside, but the picture, but the sign of a king⁴¹.” He accordingly resolved to support his authority by arms ; war, at any disadvantage, being esteemed preferable, by himself and all his counsellors, to so ignominious a peace. Collecting therefore some forces, and advancing southward, he erected the royal standard at Nottingham. Aug. 22.

This being considered as the open signal of discord and civil war throughout the kingdom, the abettors of the adverse parties began now more distinctly to separate themselves : and when two names so sacred in the English constitution, as those of KING and PARLIAMENT, were placed in opposition to each other, it is no wonder that the people were divided in their choice, and agitated with the most violent animosities !

The greater part of the nobility, and the gentlemen of ancient families, fearing a total confusion of ranks from the fury of the populace, attached themselves to the throne, from which they derived their lustre, and to which it was again communicated. Proud of their birth, of their consequence in the state, and of the loyalty and virtue of their ancestors, they zealously adhered to the cause of their sovereign ; which was also supported by most men of a liberal education, or a liberal way of thinking, and by all who wished well to the church and monarchy. On the other hand, as the veneration for the commons was extreme throughout the kingdom, and the aversion to the hierarchy general, the city of London, and most of the great corporations,

⁴⁰ Rushworth, vol. v.—May, book ii.

⁴¹ *Id.* *ibid.*

took part with the parliament, and adopted with ardour those principles of freedom, on which that assembly had originally founded its pretensions, and under colour of maintaining which it had taken up arms. Beside these corporations, many families that had lately been enriched by commerce, seeing with envious eyes superior homage paid to the nobility and elder gentry, eagerly undertook the exaltation of a power, under whose dominion they hoped to acquire rank and distinction⁴².

Thus determined in their choice, both parties, putting a close to argument, referred the justice of their cause to the decision of the sword.

42 Clarendon, vol. iii.

LETTER VI.

Account of the Progress of the War between the Royalists and the Parliamentarians, to the Battle of Naseby, in 1645.

NO contest ever seemed more unequal, my dear Philip, than that between Charles and his parliament, when the sword was first drawn. Almost every advantage was on the side of the latter. The parliamentarians being in possession of the legal means of supply, and of all the sea-ports except Newcastle, the customs yielded them a certain and considerable sum; and all contributions, loans, and impositions, were more easily raised by the cities, which possessed the ready money, and were also chiefly in their hands, than they could be by the nobility and gentry, who adhered to the king. The seamen naturally followed the disposition of the ports to which they belonged; and the earl of Northumberland, lord high admiral, having engaged in the cause of the commons, had named, at their desire, the earl of Warwick as his lieutenant. Warwick at once established his authority in the fleet, and kept the entire dominion of the sea in the hands of the demagogues. They were likewise in possession of all the magazines of arms and ammunition in the kingdom, and had intercepted part of the stores which the queen had purchased in Holland.

The king's only hope of counterbalancing so many advantages on the part of his adversaries, arose from the supposed superiority of his adherents in mental and personal qualities. More courage and enterprise were expected from the generous and

lofty spirit of the ancient nobility and gentry than from the base-born vulgar. Nor was it doubted that their tenants, whom they levied and armed at their own expense, would greatly surpass in valour and force the sedentary and enervated inhabitants of cities. But, in making this comparison, the mysterious and elevating influence of the double enthusiasm of religion and liberty was forgotten—a kind of holy fury, arising from apprehensions of danger, and a confidence in supernatural aid, which, accompanied with supposed illuminations, inspires the daring fanatic with the most romantic bravery, and enables him to perform such acts of prowess as transcend the common standard of humanity, confirm him in his belief of divine assistance, impel him to future exertions, and render his valour irresistible, when directed against those whom he regards as the enemies of God and of his country.

With the power of this enthusiastic energy, in animating the most grovelling minds, Charles had unhappily too much reason to become acquainted, during his struggle for dominion, and to learn, from fatal experience in many a hard-fought field, that it was not inferior in efficacy even to the courage connected with greatness of soul or infused by nobility of birth. At present he had a contemptible idea of his parliamentary foes, considered as individuals; but their numbers, their resources, and their military preparations, were sufficient to fill him with the most awful apprehensions. He declared, however, against all advances toward an accommodation. “I have nothing left but my honour,” said he; “and this last possession I am firmly resolved to preserve, and rather to perish than yield any farther to the pretensions of my enemies¹.” But he was induced, by the earnest solicitations of his friends, to relax in his purpose; and, in order to gain time, as well as to manifest a pacific disposition, to send ambassadors to the parliament with offers of treaty, before he began hostilities.

The conduct of the parliament justified Charles’s opinion. Both houses replied, “that they could not treat with the king until he should take down his standard, and recal his proclamations,” in which the members supposed themselves to be declared traitors; and, when, by a second message, he offered to recal those proclamations, they desired him to dismiss his forces, to reside with his parliament, and to give up the delinquents to justice²; or, in other words, to abandon himself and his friends to the mercy of his enemies.

Hoping that the people were now fully convinced of the insolence of the parliament, and its repugnance to peace, the king

¹ Clarendon, vol. iii.

² Rushworth, vol. v.

made vigorous preparations for war. Aware, however, that he was not yet able to oppose the parliamentary army, he left Nottingham, and retired, by slow marches, first to Derby, and afterward to Shrewsbury. At Wellington, in that neighbourhood, he collected his forces, and made the following declaration before the whole army : “ I do promise, in the presence of Almighty God, and as I hope for his blessing and protection, that I will, to the utmost of my power, defend and maintain the true reformed Protestant religion, established in the church of England ; and by the grace of God, in the same will live and die. I desire that the laws may ever be the measure of my government, and that the liberty and property of the subject may be preserved by them with the same care as my own just right ; and if it please God, by his blessing on this army, raised for my necessary defence, to preserve me from the present rebellion, I do solemnly and faithfully promise, in the sight of God, to maintain the just privileges and freedom of parliament, and to govern, to the utmost of my power, by the known statutes and customs of the kingdom ; and particularly, to observe inviolably the laws to which I have given my consent this parliament. Meanwhile, if this emergency, and the great necessity to which I am driven, beget any violation of law, I hope it will be imputed, by God and man, to the authors of this war ; not to me, who have so earnestly laboured to preserve the peace of the kingdom.”

This declaration, which was considered as a sacred engagement on the part of the king, was received with the warmest expressions of approbation and gratitude, by the generous train of nobility and gentry by whom he was attended ; and who, in the hope of his submitting to a legal and limited government, had alone been induced to take the field, with a resolution of sacrificing their lives and fortunes in his defence. They were in general no less animated with the spirit of liberty than of loyalty, and held in contempt the high monarchical principles.

Charles was received at Shrewsbury with marks of duty and affection ; and before he left that town, he found himself at the head of ten thousand men. With these he resolved to give battle immediately to the army of the parliament, as he heard that it was daily augmented with recruits from London. The two
Oct. 23. armies met on Edgehill, near Keinton in Warwickshire. The earl of Lindsay was general of the royal forces : prince Rupert, son of the unfortunate elector Palatine, commanded the horse ; sir Jacob Astley the foot ; sir Arthur Aston the dragoons ; sir John Heydon the artillery ; and lord Bernard Stewart was at the head of a troop of guards, whose estates, according to the computation of Lord Clarendon, were

equal in value to those of all the members who, at the commencement of hostilities, voted against the king in both houses of parliament. The earl of Essex drew up his army with judgment; but, in consequence of the desertion of a troop of horse, under sir Faithful Fortescue, and a furious charge from prince Rupert, his whole left wing of cavalry soon gave way. Nor did better fortune attend the right wing, which was also broken and put to flight. The victory would now have completely devolved to the royalists, had not the king's body of reserve, commanded by sir John Byron, heedlessly joined in the pursuit. The advantage afforded by this imprudence being perceived by sir William Balfour, who commanded the parliamentary reserve, he immediately wheeled about upon the king's infantry, now unsupported by horse, and made great havoc among them. The earl of Lindsay was mortally wounded, and taken prisoner; and his son, lord Willoughby, in endeavouring to rescue him, fell likewise into the enemy's hands. Sir Edward Verney, who carried the royal ensign, was killed; the standard was taken, and the king himself was in danger. The standard was afterwards recovered by the valour of captain John Smith; but the situation of affairs was not changed. Every thing, on the return of Rupert from the pursuit, wore the aspect of a defeat rather than of a complete victory, which he thought had been gained. His troops were too much fatigued to renew the charge, and the enemy did not provoke him to it, though both parties faced each other for some time. All night they lay on their arms, and drew off in the morning by a kind of mutual consent, neither side having spirit for a fresh action. About three thousand men were found dead on the field; and the loss of the two armies, from comparing opposite accounts, appears to have been nearly equal. The troops of both parties suffered much by cold during the night after the engagement³.

Though this first battle was so indecisive that the parliament claimed the victory as well as the king, it was of considerable service to the royal cause. Charles immediately reduced Banbury, and afterward advanced to Reading, the governor and garrison of which, on the approach of a detachment of royalists, had fled with precipitation to London. The capital was struck with terror, and the parliament voted an address for a treaty; but, as no cessation of hostilities had been agreed on, the king continued to advance, and took possession of Brentford. By this time Essex had reached London; and the declining season put a stop to farther operations⁴.

During the winter, the king and parliament were employed in real preparations for war, but in seeming advances towards

3 May, book iii.—Clarendon, vol. iii.

4 Whitelocke, p. 60.

A. D. 1643. peace. Oxford, where the king resided, was chosen as the place of treaty. Thither the parliament sent its requisitions by the earl of Northumberland and four members of the lower house, who acted as commissioners. They abated somewhat of those extravagant demands they had formerly made: but their claims were still too high to admit of an amicable accommodation, unless the king had been willing to renounce the most essential branches of his prerogative. Besides other humiliating articles, they required him, in express terms, to abolish episcopacy: a demand which before they had only insinuated. They insisted, that he should submit to the punishment of his most faithful servants; and they desired him to acquiesce in their settlement of the militia, and to confer on their adherents the entire power of the sword⁵. The negotiation, as may be naturally supposed, served only for a time to amuse both parties.

Meanwhile each county was divided within itself, as were also each town and almost each family; and the most violent convulsions shook the whole kingdom. Continual efforts were made by both parties, after the ordinary season of action was over. The earl of Newcastle, who commanded for the king in Yorkshire, gained several advantages over the parliamentary forces, and established the royal authority in the northern counties. About the same time, sir William Waller, who began to distinguish himself among the generals of the parliament, defeated lord Herbert near Gloucester, and took the city of Hereford. On the other side, sir Ralph Hopton made himself master of Launceston, and reduced all Cornwall to peace and obedience under the king⁶.

In the spring Reading was besieged, and taken by the earl of Essex. Being joined soon after by the forces under sir William Waller, the earl marched towards Oxford, with a view of attacking the king, who was supposed to be in great distress for want of ammunition. But Charles, informed of his design, and of the loose disposition of his forces, despatched prince Rupert with a party of horse to annoy them; and that gallant leader, who was perfectly fitted for such a service, falling suddenly upon the dispersed bodies, routed two regiments of cavalry, and one of infantry, and carried his ravages almost to the general's quarters at Thane. Essex took the alarm, and despatched part of his cavalry in pursuit of the prince. They were joined by a regiment of infantry, under the famous John Hampden, who had acted as colonel from the beginning of the civil war, and distinguished himself no less in the field than in the senate. In Chalgrave field they overtook the royalists, who were loaded with

5 Clarendon, vol. iii.—Rushworth, vol. vi.

6 Clarendon, vol. iii.

booty. The prince wheeled about, however, and charged them with such impetuosity, that they were obliged to save themselves by flight, after having lost some of their best officers; and among the rest, the much-valued and much-dreaded Hampden, who was mortally wounded, and died soon after in great agonies⁷. He is said to have received his wound by the bursting of one of his own pistols.

The royal cause was supported with equal spirit in the western counties. The king's adherents in Cornwall, notwithstanding their early successes, had been obliged to enter into a convention of neutrality with the parliamentary party in Devonshire. This neutrality lasted during the winter, but was broken in the spring, by the authority of the parliament; and the earl of Stamford having assembled an army of near seven thousand men, well supplied with money, ammunition, and provisions, entered Cornwall, and advanced upon the royalists, who were not half his number, and were oppressed by every kind of necessity. He encamped on the top of a hill, near Stratton, and detached sir George Chudleigh with twelve hundred horse to surprise Bodmin. The Cornish royalists, commanded by the principal men of the county, seized this opportunity of extricating themselves, by one vigorous effort, from all the dangers and difficulties with which they were surrounded. They May 16. boldly advanced up the hill on which Stamford was encamped, in four different divisions; and after an obstinate struggle, still pressing onward, all met upon the plain at the top, where they embraced with great joy, and signalled their victory with loud shouts and mutual congratulations⁸.

The king now sent the marquis of Hertford, and prince Maurice, brother to prince Rupert, with a reinforcement of cavalry into Cornwall. Being joined by the Cornish army, they soon over-ran the county of Devon, and advancing into Somersetshire, began to reduce it also to obedience. In the mean time, the parliament having supplied sir William Waller, in whom they had great confidence, with a complete army, despatched him into the same county, to check the progress of the royalists, and retrieve their affairs in that quarter. After some skirmishes, in which the royalists had the advantage, the two armies met at Lansdown-hill, which Waller had fortified. There a pitched battle was fought, with great loss on both sides, July 5. and without any decisive advantage; for although the king's troops, after a fierce engagement, gained the summit of the hill, and beat the enemy from their ground, the fugitives took refuge behind a stone wall, where they maintained their

7 Warwick's Memoirs.

8 Rushworth, vol. vi.—Clarendon, vol. iii.

post till night and then retired to Bath, under cover of the darkness⁹.

Hertford and Maurice, disappointed of the success they had promised themselves, attempted to march eastward, and join the king at Oxford. But Waller hung on their rear, and harassed their army until they reached the Devises. There, being considerably reinforced, he so much surpassed the royalists in number, that they durst no longer continue their march, or expose themselves to the hazard of a battle. It was therefore resolved, that the marquis and the prince should proceed with the cavalry, and procuring a reinforcement from the royal army, should hasten back to the relief of their friends.

Waller was now so confident of success, that he thought only of the number and quality of the prisoners whom he should take. But the king, even before the arrival of Hertford and Maurice, informed of the difficulties to which his western troops were reduced, had despatched a body of cavalry to their relief, under lord Wilmot. To prevent the intended junction, Waller drew July 13. up his army on Roundway-down; and Wilmot, in hopes of being supported by the infantry at the Devises, did not decline the combat. Waller's cavalry, after a smart action, were totally routed, and he himself fled with a few horse to Bristol; while the victorious Wilmot, joined by the Cornish infantry, attacked the enemy's foot with great impetuosity, and slew or captured almost the whole body¹⁰.

This important victory, preceded by so many other successes, struck great dismay into the parliament, and gave an alarm to their grand army, still commanded by the earl of Essex. Farther discouraged by hearing that the queen had landed in Yorkshire, with ammunition and artillery, and had brought to the king from the North a reinforcement of three thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, Essex left Thame and Aylesbury, where he had for some time remained, and retired to the neighbourhood of London. Freed from this principal enemy, the king sent his main army westward, under prince Rupert; and, by the junction of that army with the Cornish royalists, a formidable force was composed; a force respectable from numbers, but still more from valour and reputation.

In hopes of profiting by the consternation into which Waller's defeat and the retreat of Essex had thrown the parliamentary party, prince Rupert resolved to undertake an enterprise worthy of the army with which he was intrusted. He accordingly ad-

⁹ Rushworth, vol. vi.—Clarendon, vol. iii. This battle would have been more favourable to the royalists, had not Waller been reinforced with 500 cavalry from London, completely covered with cuirasses, and other defensive armour. These cuirassiers were generally found to be irresistible.

¹⁰ Clarendon, vol. iii.—Rushworth, vol. vi.

vanced toward Bristol, the second city in the kingdom for riches and magnitude. The place was in a good posture of defence, and had a garrison of three thousand five hundred men, well supplied with ammunition and provisions ; but, as the fortifications were found to be not perfectly regular, it was resolved, in a council of war, to proceed by assault, though little provision had been made for such an operation. The Cornish-men, in three divisions, attacked the west side with a courage which nothing could repress, or for a time resist ; but so great was the disadvantage of ground, and so brave the defence of the garrison, that although the middle division had already mounted the walls in spite of all opposition, the assailants were in the end repulsed with considerable slaughter, and with the loss of many gallant officers. On the east side, where the approach was less difficult, prince Rupert had better success. After an obstinate struggle, a lodgement was made within the enemy's works ; and Nathaniel Fiennes, the governor (son of lord Say, one of the parliamentary leaders), surrendered the place by capitulation. He and his garrison were allowed to march out with their arms and baggage, but without their colours¹¹.

The reduction of Bristol was a severe blow to the power of the parliament ; and if the king, who soon after appeared in the camp, had boldly marched to London, before the fears of the people had time to subside, as he was advised by the more daring spirits, the war might in all probability have been finished equally to his honour and advantage. But this undertaking was judged too hazardous, on account of the number and force of the London militia ; and Gloucester seemed to present to Charles an easier, and yet an important acquisition. It would put the whole course of the Severn under his command, open a communication between Wales and the western counties, and contribute to free one half of the kingdom from the dominion of the enemy¹².

These were the king's reasons for undertaking the siege of Gloucester in preference to any other enterprise. Before he left Bristol, however, he sent prince Maurice with a detachment into Devonshire : and, in order to show that he was not intoxicated with good fortune, or provoked to aspire at a total victory over the parliament, he published a manifesto, in which he renewed the solemn protestation he had formerly made at the head of his army, and expressed his earnest desire of making peace, as soon as the constitution should be re-established¹³.

¹¹ Clarendon, vol. iii.—Rushworth, vol. vi

¹² May, book iii.—Whitelocke, p. 60

¹³ Whitelocke.—May.

Before this manifesto was issued, a bold attempt had been made to restore peace to the kingdom, by the celebrated Edmund Waller, so well known as a poet, and who was no less distinguished as an orator. He still continued to attend his duty in parliament, and had exerted all his eloquence in opposing those violent counsels by which the commons were governed; and, in order to catch the attention of the house, he had often, in his harangues, employed the keenest satire and invective. But, finding all opposition within doors fruitless, he conceived the idea of forming a party without, which might oblige the parliament to accept reasonable conditions. Having sounded the earl of Northumberland, and other eminent persons, whose confidence he enjoyed, he was encouraged to open his scheme to Tomkins, his brother-in-law, and to Chaloner, the intimate friend of Tomkins. By these gentlemen, whose connexions lay chiefly in the city, he was informed that an abhorrence of the war there prevailed among all men of sense and moderation.—It therefore seemed not impracticable, that a combination might be framed between the peers and citizens, to refuse payment of the illegal and oppressive taxes imposed by the parliament without the royal assent. But, while this scheme was in agitation, it was disclosed to Pym by a servant who had overheard the conversation of the projectors. Waller, Tomkins, and Chaloner, were immediately seized, tried by a court-martial, and condemned. Tomkins and Chaloner were executed on gibbets erected before their own doors; but Waller saved his life by counterfeiting sorrow and remorse, bribing the puritanical clergy, and paying a fine of ten thousand pounds¹⁴.

The discovery of this project, and the severity exercised against the persons concerned in it, could not fail to increase the authority of the parliament; yet so great was the consternation occasioned by the progress of the king's arms, the taking of Bristol, and the siege of Gloucester, that the cry for peace was renewed, and with more violence than ever. A multitude of women, with a petition for this purpose, crowded about the house of commons, and were so clamorous, that orders were given for dispersing them; and a troop of horse being employed in that service, several of the women were killed or wounded. Many of the popular noblemen had deserted the parliament, and gone to Oxford. The earl of Northumberland retired to his country seat; and Essex himself, extremely dissatisfied, exhorted the parliament to think of peace. The house of lords sent down terms of accommodation, more moderate than any that had hitherto been offered: a vote was even passed, by a majority of the commons, that these proposals should be trans-

¹⁴ Rushworth, vol. vi.—Clarendon, vol. iii.

mitted to the king. But this pleasing prospect was soon darkened. The zealous republicans took the alarm : a petition against peace was framed in the city, and presented to the parliament by Pennington, the factious lord-mayor. The pulpits thundered their anathemas against malignants ; rumours of popish conspiracies were spread ; and the majority being again turned towards the violent side, all thoughts of pacification were banished, and every preparation made for war, and for the immediate relief of Gloucester¹⁵.

That city was defended by a numerous garrison, and by a multitude of fanatical inhabitants, zealous for the crown of martyrdom. Massey, the governor, was a soldier of fortune, and by his courage and ability had much retarded the advances of the king's army. Though no enthusiast himself, he well knew how to employ to advantage that enthusiastic spirit which prevailed among the soldiers and citizens. By continued sallies, he molested the royalists in their trenches ; he gained sudden advantages over them ; and he repressed their ardour, by disputing every inch of ground. The garrison, however, was reduced to extremity, when Essex, advancing to its relief with a well appointed army of fourteen thousand men, obliged the king to raise the siege, and threw into the city a supply of ammunition and provisions¹⁶.

Chagrined at the miscarriage of his favourite enterprise, and determined to intercept Essex in his return, the king, by hasty marches, took possession of Newbury before the arrival of the parliamentary army. An action was now unavoidable ; and the earl, aware of his inferiority in cavalry, drew up his forces on an eminence near the town. The battle was begun by Sept. 20. the royalists, and both parties fought with alertness and courage. The cavalry of the parliamentary general were several times broken by those of the king ; but his infantry maintained their ground ; and, besides keeping up a constant fire, they presented an invincible rampart of pikes against all the furious shocks of prince Rupert, and those gallant troops of gentlemen of which the royal cavalry was chiefly composed.—Night at last put an end to the combat, and left the victory undecided. The next morning Essex pursued his march ; and although his rear was severely harassed by prince Rupert, he reached London without losing either his cannon or baggage. The king followed him ; and, taking possession of Reading, there established a garrison, to be a kind of curb upon the capital¹⁷.

15 Rushworth, vol. vi.

16 Clarendon, vol. iii.

17 Rushworth, vol. vi.—Clarendon, vol. iii.

Though the king's loss, in this battle, was not very considerable with respect to numbers, his cause suffered greatly by the death of some gallant noblemen. Besides the earls of Sunderland and Carnarvon, who had served their royal master with courage and ability in the field, fell Lucius Carey, viscount Falkland, no less eminent in the cabinet; the object of universal admiration while living, and of regret when dead. Devoted to the pursuits of learning, and fond of polite society, he had abstracted himself from politics till the assembling of the present parliament; when, deeming it criminal longer to remain inactive, he stood foremost in all attacks upon the high prerogatives of the crown, and displayed, with a bold freedom, that warm love of liberty, and masculine eloquence, which he had imbibed from the sublime writers of antiquity. But no sooner did he perceive the purpose of the popular leaders, than, tempering the ardour of his zeal, he attached himself to his sovereign; and convinced that regal authority was already sufficiently reduced, he embraced the defence of the limited powers that remained to it, and which he thought necessary to the support of the English constitution. Still anxious for the liberties of his country, he seems to have dreaded the decisive success even of the royal party; and the word *PEACE* was often heard to break from his lips, accompanied with a sigh. Though naturally of a gay and cheerful disposition, he became, from the commencement of the civil war, silent and melancholy, neglecting even a decent attention to his person; but on the morning of the battle of Newbury, as if he had foreseen his fate, he dressed himself with neatness and elegance, that the enemy, as he said, might not find his body in a *slovenly condition*. "I am weary of the times," added he, "and foresee much misery to my country: but believe I shall be out of it before night!"

The shock which both armies had received in this action discouraged them from a second trial of strength before the close of the campaign: and they soon retired into winter quarters.—There we must leave them for a time, and take a view of the progress of the war in other parts of the kingdom, and of the measure pursued by each party for acquiring a superiority.

In the northern counties, during the summer, the marquis of Newcastle, by his extensive influence, had raised a considerable force for the king; and high hopes were entertained of success from the known loyalty and abilities of that nobleman. But in opposition to him appeared two men, on whom the fortune of the war was finally to depend, and who began about this

time to be distinguished by their valour and military talents; namely, sir Thomas Fairfax and Oliver Cromwell. The former, son of lord Fairfax, put to flight a party of royalists at Wakefield, and the latter obtained a victory over another party at Gainsborough. But the total rout of lord Fairfax, at Ather-ton, more than balanced both those defeats; and the marquis, with about fifteen thousand men, sat down before Hull, into which the elder Fairfax had thrown himself with the remnant of his broken force¹⁹.

After having carried on the attack of Hull for some time without effect, the marquis was repelled by an unexpected sally of the garrison, and suffered so much in the action, that he thought proper to raise the siege. About the same time, the earl of Manchester, having formed a junction with Cromwell and young Fairfax, obtained a considerable advantage over the royalists at Horn-Castle²⁰. But notwithstanding these misfortunes, the royal party still retained great interest in the northern counties; and had not Yorkshire been kept in awe by the garrison of Hull, a junction of the northern and southern armies might have been effected, and the king would perhaps have been enabled to terminate the war with the campaign.

The prospect was now very different. Alarmed at the rapid progress of the king's forces, during the early part of the summer, the English parliament had sent commissioners to Edinburgh, with ample powers, to treat of a nearer union and confederacy with the Scottish nation.

The Scots, who, not satisfied with having accomplished the restoration of the presbyterian religion in their own country, still indulged an ardent passion for propagating that system in the neighbouring kingdom, declared themselves ready to assist their brethren of England; and proposed, that the two nations should enter into a covenant for the extirpation of prelacy, and a more intimate union of the English and Scottish parliaments. By the address of the younger sir Henry Vane, who took the lead among the English commissioners, was accordingly framed at Edinburgh a compact called the SOLEMN LEAGUE AND COVENANT.

A copy of this covenant was transmitted to the two houses of parliament at Westminster, where it was received without op-

¹⁹ Lord Fairfax was appointed governor of this place in the room of Sir John Hotham, who, repenting of his engagements with the parliamentary party, had entered with his son into a correspondence with the marquis of Newcastle, and expressed an intention of delivering Hull into his hands for the king. Their purpose being discovered, the two Hothams were arrested, and sent prisoners to London; where, without any regard to their former services, they fell victims to the severity of the parliament. Rushworth, vol. vi.

²⁰ Warwick.—Walker.

position; and after being subscribed by the lords, the commons, and an assembly of divines, it was ordered to be received by all who lived under their authority. The subscribers, besides engaging to defend each other against all opponents, bound themselves to endeavour the extirpation of popery and prelacy, superstition, heresy, schism, and profaneness; to maintain the rights and privileges of parliament, and defend his majesty's person and authority; to discover and bring to justice all incendiaries and malignants; to humble themselves for their sins, amend their lives, and vie with each other in the great work of reformation²¹.

The Scots exulted in the thought of being the happy instruments of extending what they believed to be the only true religion, and of dissipating that profound darkness in which they supposed all other nations to be involved. The general assembly applauded the pious league, and every one was ordered by the convention of estates to swear to the covenant, under penalty of confiscation; besides what farther punishment it should please the parliament to inflict on the disobedient, as enemies of God, the king, and the kingdom! Inflamed with holy zeal, and determined that the sword should carry conviction to all refractory minds, the Scottish covenantors now prepared themselves with vigour for military service. A hundred thousand pounds, remitted from England, enabled them to complete their levies; and, having added to their other forces a body of troops which they had recalled from Ireland, they were soon ready to enter England with an army of twenty thousand men²².

In order to secure himself against this gathering tempest, which he foresaw it would be impossible to dispel, the king turned his eye toward Ireland. The English parliament, to whose care the suppression of the Irish rebellion was committed, had never taken any effectual measures for that purpose; yet the remaining Protestants, joined with some new adventurers, under sir William St. Leger, sir Frederick Hamilton, and

²¹ Whitelocke, p. 73.—Rushworth, vol. vi.—Clarendon, vol. iii.—The subscribers to the covenant vowed also to preserve the reformed religion established in the church of Scotland; but, by the artifice of sir Henry Vane, no declaration more explicit was made with respect to England and Ireland, than that these kingdoms should be reformed according to the word of God, and the *example of the purest churches*. The Scottish zealots, when prelacy was abolished, deemed these expressions quite free from ambiguity, considering their own mode of worship as the only one which corresponded in any degree to such a description. But Vane had other views. That able politician, even while he employed his great talents in over-reaching the presbyterians, and secretly laughed at their simplicity as well as their fanaticism, had bloodily devoted himself to more wild and dangerous opinions, which he hoped to diffuse and establish.

²² Clarendon, vol. iii.

other leaders, had in several encounters put the Catholics to flight, and returned in triumph to Dublin. The rebels had been obliged to raise the siege of Drogheda, in spite of their most vigorous efforts. The marquis of Ormond, then lord-lieutenant, had obtained two victories over them, and had relieved the forts that were besieged or blockaded in different parts of the kingdom. But the Irish Catholics, in their wild rage against the British planters, having laid waste the whole cultivated part of the country, the victorious Protestants were in want of the most common necessities of life ; and, as the king had it not in his power to send them either money or provisions, he resolved to embrace an expedient which would enable them to provide for their own support, and at the same time contribute to the advancement of his affairs in England. He gave orders to the lord-lieutenant and the chief justices, who were entirely in his interest, to conclude a truce for one year with the council of the rebels at Kilkenny, and afterwards to transport part of the Protestant army to Britain²³.

The parliament, ever ready to censure the king's measures, did not let slip so favourable an opportunity of reproaching him with favouring the Irish papists. They exclaimed loudly against the truce, affirming that England must justly dread the divine vengeance for tolerating antichristian idolatry, under pretence of civil contracts and political expediency²⁴! The forces brought from Ireland, though the cause of so much odium, were of little service to the royal party. Being put under the command of lord Byron, they besieged and took some fortresses in North-Wales and in Cheshire ; but a stop was soon put to their career. Elate with success, and entertaining the most profound contempt for the parliamentary forces, they sat down before Nantwich in the depth of winter. This was the only place that now adhered to the parliament in Cheshire or its neighbourhood. Sir Thomas Fairfax, alarmed at the progress of the royalists in this quarter, assembled in Yorkshire an army of four thousand men ; and, having joined
A. D. 1644.
 sir William Brereton, suddenly attacked Byron's
Jan. 25.
 camp. The swelling of the river Wever by a thaw
 had divided one part of the royal army from the other, and a rout and dispersion of the whole ensued²⁵.

The invasion from Scotland, in favour of the parliament, was attended with more momentous consequences. The Scottish

²³ Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. iii.—Rushworth, vol. vi.—Some Irish Catholics came over with the Protestants, and joined the royal army, where they continued the same cruelties and disorders to which they had been accustomed (Whitelocke, p. 78.); and the parliament voted that no quarter, in any action, should ever be given to them. But prince Rupert, by severe retaliation, soon put a stop to this inhumanity. Rushworth, vol. vi.

²⁴ *Id. ibid.*

²⁵ *Id. ibid.*

army, under the command of the earl of Leven, having summoned the town of Newcastle without effect, passed the Tyne, and faced the marquis of Newcastle, who lay at Durham with an army of fourteen thousand men. The marquis did not decline the challenge; but before any action took place, he received intelligence of the return of sir Thomas Fairfax, with his victorious forces, from Cheshire. Afraid of being enclosed between two armies, he retreated to York; and Leven having joined lord Fairfax, they invested that city. The earl of Manchester arrived soon after with an accession of force; and York, though vigorously defended by the marquis of Newcastle, was so closely besieged by the combined armies, and reduced to such extremity, that the parliamentary generals flattered themselves with the hope of a speedy conquest.

So important a siege roused the spirit of prince Rupert. By exerting himself vigorously in Lancashire and Cheshire, he collected a considerable army, and hastened to the relief of York. The Scottish and parliamentary generals raised the siege on his approach, and drew up their forces on Marston-moor, where they proposed to give battle to the royalists. Prince Rupert entered the town by another quarter, and safely joined his forces to those of Newcastle, by interposing the river Ouse between him and the enemy. Having so successfully effected his purpose, the prince ought to have remained satisfied with his good fortune. The marquis was sensible of it, and endeavoured, by many arguments, to persuade him to decline a battle; especially as the Scottish and English armies were at variance, and would probably soon separate of their own accord, while a few days would bring him a reinforcement of ten thousand men.

That violent partisan, however, whose martial disposition was not sufficiently tempered with prudence, or softened by complaisance, treated this advice with contempt; and without deigning to consult the marquis, who had long been the chief prop of the royal cause in the North, he imperiously issued July 2. orders for battle, and led out the army to Marston-moor. The marquis refused to take any share in the command, but behaved gallantly as a volunteer. Fifty thousand British combatants were, on this occasion, led to mutual slaughter. The numbers on each side were nearly equal, and victory continued long undecided. At length lieutenant-general Cromwell, having broken the right wing of the royalists, led by prince Rupert, returned from the pursuit and terminated a contest which before seemed doubtful. Sir Charles Lucas, who had commanded the left wing of the royalists, and who

had put the right wing of the parliamentary army to flight, being ignorant of the fortune of the day in other quarters, was surprised to see that he must renew, with this bold leader, the combat for victory. Nor was Cromwell a little disappointed to find, that the battle was yet to be gained. The second engagement was no less furious than the first. All the hostile passions that can inflame civil or religious discord were awakened in the breasts of the two parties; but, after the utmost efforts of courage by both, success turned wholly to the side of the parliament. The king's artillery and stores were taken, and his army pushed off the field²⁶.

The loss of this battle was, in itself, a severe blow to the royal cause, and its consequences were still more fatal than could have been expected. The marquis of Newcastle, enraged to find all his labours rendered abortive by one act of temerity, and disgusted at the prospect of renewing the desperate struggle, immediately left the kingdom in despair, and continued abroad till the Restoration²⁷. Prince Rupert, with the utmost precipitation, drew off the remains of his army, and retired to Lancashire, instead of throwing himself into York, and waiting his majesty's orders; so that Glenham, the lieutenant-governor, was in a few days obliged to surrender that city²⁸. Lord Fairfax, fixing his residence in York, established his government over the neighbouring country; while the Scottish army marched northward, in order to join the earl of Calendar, and, having formed that junction, laid siege to Newcastle, which, after a siege of two months, was taken by assault²⁹.

The king's affairs in the South, though not less dangerous or critical, were conducted with greater ability and success. The parliament had made extraordinary exertions in that quarter. Two armies, of ten thousand men each, were completed with all possible speed, and the commanders received orders to march toward Oxford, and attempt by one enterprise to put an end to

26 Clarendon, vol. v.—Rushworth, vol. vi.—Whitelocke, p. 89.

27 This nobleman, who was considered as the ornament of the court, and of his order, had been engaged, contrary to the natural bent of his disposition, by a high sense of honour and personal regard for his master, to take part in these military transactions. He disregarded the dangers of war; but its anxieties and fatigues were oppressive to his natural indolence of temper. Liberal, polite, courteous, and humane, he brought a great accession of friends to the royal party. But, amidst all the hurry of action, his inclinations were secretly drawn to the soft arts of peace; and the charms of poetry, music, and conversation, stole him often from the rough occupations of martial service. Though he lived abroad in extreme indigence, he disdained, by submission or composition, to recognise the usurped authority of parliament, or to look up to it for relief, but saw with indifference the sequestration of his ample fortune. Clarendon, vol. v.—Hume, vol. vii.

28 Rushworth, vol. vi.

29 Whitelocke, p. 89.

the war. Leaving a strong garrison in Oxford, the king passed with dexterity between the two armies, and marched toward Winchester. Essex gave orders to Waller to follow him, and watch his motions, while he himself marched to the West in quest of prince Maurice. But the king, eluding the vigilance of Waller, returned suddenly to Oxford; and having reinforced his army from that garrison, marched out in quest of his pursuer. The two armies faced each other at Cropredy-
June 29. bridge, near Banbury. The Cherwell ran between them; and the king, in order to draw Waller from his advantageous post, decamped the next day, and marched toward Daventry. This movement had the desired effect. Waller ordered a considerable detachment to ford the river, while he himself passed the bridge with the main body, and fell upon the king's rear. He was repulsed, and pursued back to the bridge with considerable loss³⁰.

The king thought he might now safely leave the remains of Waller's army behind him, and march westward against the earl of Essex, who carried all before him in that quarter. He accordingly followed the parliamentary general; who, convinced of his inferiority, retired into Cornwall, entreating the parliament to send an army to fall upon the king's rear. General Middleton was despatched for that purpose, but came too late. Cooped up in a narrow corner at Lestwithiel, deprived of all forage and provisions, and seeing no prospect of relief, the earl's troops were reduced to the greatest extremity. The king pressed them on one side, prince Maurice on another, and sir Richard Granville on a third. Essex and some of his principal officers escaped in a boat to Plymouth; and Balfour, with the horse, having passed the king's out-posts in a thick fog, reached the parliamentary garrisons in safety; but the foot, under Skippon, were obliged to surrender their arms, artillery, and ammunition³¹.

By this surrender, which was no small cause of triumph to the royalists, the king supplied his wants for a time; and yet his enemies were not materially injured, as the troops were preserved. In order to conceal their disgrace, the commons voted thanks to Essex for his courage and conduct; and having armed his troops anew, they ordered Manchester and Cromwell, as well as Waller and Middleton, to join him, and offer battle to the king. Charles, having thrown succours into Donnington-castle

³⁰ Rushworth, vol. vi.—Clarendon, vol. v.—Ruthven, a Scottish officer, who had been created earl of Brentford, attended the king as general in these operations.

³¹ Whitelocke, p. 98.—Clarendon, vol. v.—Rushworth, vol. vi.

(long besieged by the parliamentary forces) and knighted the governor for his gallant defence, had taken post at Newbury, the scene of a former conflict. There the generals of the parliament attacked him with great vigour; and the royalists, though they defended themselves with their wonted valour, were at last overpowered by numbers. Night came seasonably to their relief, and prevented a total defeat. The king now retreated to Wallingford, and afterward to Oxford; where, being joined by prince Rupert and the earl of Northampton, with considerable bodies of cavalry, he ventured again to advance toward the enemy; but they did not choose to give him battle, though still greatly superior in force³². Oct. 27.

Disputes between the parliamentary generals, which were supposed to have disturbed their military operations, were now revived in London; and each being supported by his own faction, their mutual reproaches and accusations agitated the whole city and parliament. The cause of these disputes will require explanation.

There had long prevailed among the puritans, or parliamentary party, a secret distinction, which, though concealed for a time by the dread of the king's power, began to discover itself in proportion as the hopes of success became nearer, and at last broke forth in high contest and animosity. The INDEPENDENTS, who had at first sheltered themselves under the wings of the PRESBYTERIANS, now openly appeared as a distinct party, actuated by different views and pretensions. They rejected all ecclesiastical establishments, and would admit of no spiritual courts, no government among pastors, nor any interposition of the magistrate in religious concerns. Each congregation, according to its principles, voluntarily united by spiritual ties, composed within itself a separate church; and as the election of the congregation was alone sufficient to bestow the sacerdotal character and office, to which no benefits were annexed, all essential distinction was denied between the laity and the clergy. No ceremony, no institution, no imposition of hands, were thought requisite, as in every other church, to convey a right to holy orders; but the soldier, the merchant, the mechanic, indulging the fervours of zeal, and guided by the infusions of the spirit, resigned themselves to an inward and superior direction, and were consecrated by a supposed intercourse and immediate communication with heaven³³.

³² Rushworth, vol. vii.

³³ Chm. Walker's Hist. of Independency.—Hume, vol. vii.—The independents were the first Christian sect which, during its prosperity, as well as its adversity, always adopted the principles of toleration. The reason assigned by Mr. Hume for this liberty of conscience is truly ingenious. The mind, says he, set afloat in the wide sea of inspiration, could

Nor were the independents less distinguished from the presbyterians by their political than their religious principles. The presbyterians were only desirous of restraining within narrow limits the prerogatives of the crown, and of reducing the king to the rank of first magistrate; but the independents, more ardent in their pursuit of liberty, aimed at the abolition of the monarchical and even of the aristocratical branch of the English constitution. They had projected an entire equality of rank and order, in a republic quite free and independent. Of course, they were determined enemies to all proposals for peace; rigidly adhering to the maxim, that whoever draws his sword against his sovereign should throw away the scabbard. And by widely diffusing the apprehensions of vengeance, they engaged multitudes who differed from them in opinion, both with respect to religion and government, to oppose all terms of pacification with their offended prince³⁴.

Sir Henry Vane, Oliver Cromwell, Nathaniel Fiennes, and Oliver St. John, were considered as the leaders of the independents. The earl of Northumberland, proud of his rank, regarded with horror their scheme, which would confound the nobility with the meanest of the people. The earl of Essex, who began to foresee the pernicious consequences of the war, adhered to the presbyterians, and promoted every reasonable plan of accommodation. The earls of Warwick and Denbigh, sir Philip Stapleton, sir William Waller, Holles, Massey, Whitelocke, Maynard, Glynne, and other eminent men, had embraced the same sentiments; so that a considerable majority in parliament, and a much greater in the nation, were attached to the presbyterian party³⁵. But the independents, first by cunning and deceit, and afterwards by violence, accomplished the ruin of their rivals, as well as of the royal cause.

Provoked at the impeachment which the king had lodged against him, the earl of Manchester had long forwarded the war with alacrity; but, as he was a man of humanity and sound principles, the view of the public calamities, and the prospect of a subversion of the monarchical government, began to moderate his ardour, and inclined him to promote peace on any safe and equitable terms. He was even suspected, in the field, of not having pushed to the utmost the advantages obtained by the arms of the parliament; and Cromwell accused him, in the house of commons, of wilfully neglecting, in the late campaign, an opportunity of finishing the war by a total defeat of the royalists. Manchester, by way of recrimination, informed the par-

confine itself within no certain limits, and the same variations in which an enthusiast indulged himself, he was apt, by a natural train of thinking, to permit in others.

³⁴ Walker's Hist. of Independency.

³⁵ Hume, vol. vii.

liament, that Cromwell, on another occasion, in order to induce him to embrace a scheme to which he thought the parliament would not agree, warmly said, "My lord, if you will stick firm to honest men, you shall find yourself at the head of an army which shall give law both to king and parliament³⁶."—"This discourse;" continued the earl, "made the greater impression on me, because I knew the lieutenant-general to be a man of deep designs. And he has even ventured to tell me, that it would never be well with England till I should be Mr. Montague, and not a lord or peer should remain in the realm³⁷."

These violent dissensions brought matters to extremity between the two sects, and pushed the independents to the immediate execution of their designs. The command of the sword was their grand object; and this they A. D. 1645. craftily obtained, under pretence of new-modelling the army. The first intimation of such a measure, in conformity with the hypocritical policy of that age, was communicated from the pulpit on a day of solemn humiliation and fasting, appointed through the influence of the independents. The divisions in the parliament were ascribed, by the fanatical preachers, to the selfish ends pursued by the members: in whose hands, it was observed, were lodged all the considerable commands in the army, and all the lucrative offices in the civil administration. "It cannot be expected," added these spiritual demagogues, "that men, who fatten on the calamities of their country, will ever embrace any effectual measure for bringing them to a period, or the war to a successful issue." The independents in parliament caught the same tone, and represented the concurrence of so many godly men, in different congregations, in lamenting ONE evil, as the effect of the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit. Such, in particular, was the language of sir Henry Vane; who, therefore, entreated the members, in vindication of their own honour, and in consideration of their duty to God and their country, to lay aside all private views, and renounce every office attended with profit or advantage. Cromwell also acted his part to admiration. He declared that until there should be a perfect reformation in these particulars, nothing which they undertook could prosper; for although the parliament, he added, had doubtless done wisely on the commencement of hostilities, in engaging several of its members in the most dangerous military commands, in order to satisfy the nation that they intended to share all hazards with the meanest of the people, affairs were now changed; and a change of measures, he affirmed, must take place, if they hoped to terminate the war to advantage³⁸.

36 Clarendon, vol. v.

37 Id. *ibid*.

38 Rushworth, vol. vi.—Clarendon, vol. v.

On the other side, it was urged by the presbyterians, and particularly by Whitelocke, that the rank possessed by such as were members of either house of parliament prevented envy, retained the army in obedience, and gave weight to military orders; that greater confidence might safely be reposed in men of family and fortune than in mere adventurers, who would be apt to entertain views distinct from those embraced by the persons that employed them; that no maxim in policy was more undisputed than the necessity of preserving an inseparable connexion between the civil and military power, and of retaining the latter in strict subordination to the former; that the Greeks and Romans, the wisest politicians, and the most passionate lovers of liberty, had always intrusted to their senators the command of the armies of the state; and that only those men whose interests were involved with those of the public, and who possessed a vote in civil deliberations, would sufficiently respect the authority of the parliament, and never could be tempted to turn the sword against those by whom it was committed to them³⁹. Notwithstanding these arguments, a committee was appointed to frame what was called the *Self-denying Ordinance*, by which the members of both houses were excluded from all civil and military employments—a few officers excepted; and through the envy of some, the false modesty of others, and the republican and fanatical views of many, it at last received the sanction of parliament.

In consequence of this ordinance, the earls of Essex, Warwick, Manchester, and Denbigh, with Waller, and others, resigned their commands, and received the thanks of both houses. Cromwell, being a member, ought also to have been discarded; but this impartiality would have disappointed the views of those who had introduced the new ordinance. Care was therefore taken, when the other officers resigned their commissions, that he should be sent with a body of horse to relieve Taunton, then besieged by the royalists. His absence being remarked, orders were despatched for his immediate attendance in parliament. But sir Thomas Fairfax, the new general, having appointed a rendezvous of the army, desired leave to retain for a few days lieutenant-general Cromwell, whose advice, he wrote to the parliament, would be useful in supplying the place of those officers who had resigned: and he soon after begged, with much earnestness, that Oliver might be permitted to serve during the ensuing campaign⁴⁰.

Thus, my dear Philip, the independents, though the minority, prevailed by art and cunning over the presbyterians; and bestowed the whole military authority, in appearance upon Fairfax, but in reality upon Cromwell. Fairfax, eminent both for

³⁹ Whitelocke, p. 111, 115.

⁴⁰ Clarendon, vol. v.—Whitelocke, p. 111.

courage and humanity, sincere in his professions, disinterested in his views, and open in his conduct, would have formed one of the most shining characters of that age, had not the extreme narrowness of his genius, in every thing but war, diminished the lustre of his merit, and rendered the part which he acted, even when invested with the supreme command, but secondary and subordinate. Cromwell, by whose sagacity and insinuation the general was entirely governed, though naturally imperious, knew how to employ, when necessary, the most profound dissimulation, the most oblique and refined artifice, and the semblance of the greatest moderation and simplicity. His vigorous capacity enabled him to form the deepest designs, and his enterprising spirit was not dismayed at the boldest undertakings⁴¹.

During this contest for power, both parties had piously united in bringing to the block the venerable archbishop Laud, who, after a tedious imprisonment, was tried for high treason, as having endeavoured to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom. The same violence and the same illegality of an accumulative crime and constructive evidence, which had appeared in the case of Strafford, were employed against Laud; yet after a long trial, and the examination of above a hundred and fifty witnesses, the commons found so little probability of obtaining a judicial sentence against him, that they were obliged to have recourse to their legislative authority, and to pass an ordinance for taking away his life. "No one," said the aged primate, "can be more willing to send me out of the world, than I am desirous to go." Only seven peers voted on this important question, the rest absenting themselves either from fear or shame⁴².

This new example of the vindictive spirit of the commons promised little success to the negotiations for peace, which were soon after set on foot at Uxbridge; where Jan. 30, 1645. seventeen commissioners from the king met twelve parliamentary delegates and eleven Scottish deputies. It was agreed that the Scots and the parliamentary negotiators should state their demands with respect to three important articles; religion, the militia, and Ireland; and that these should be successively examined and discussed, in conference with the king's commissioners⁴³.

Besides the difficulties on the subject of religion, the article of the militia was an insuperable bar to all accommodation. The king's partisans had always maintained, that the fears and jealousies of the parliament, after the effectual measures taken in 1641 for the security of public liberty, were either feigned or

⁴¹ Hume, vol. vii.

⁴² Warwick, p. 169.

⁴³ Dugdale, p. 758.—Whitelocke, p. 121.

groundless. Charles however offered, in order to cure their apprehensions, that the arms of the state should be intrusted, during three years, to twenty commissioners, who should be named either by common agreement between him and the parliament, or one half by him, and the other by the parliament. But the parliamentary deputies positively insisted on a grant of the absolute power of the sword, for at least seven years. This, they affirmed, was essential to their safety. The king's commissioners asked, whether there was any equity in securing only one party, and leaving the other, during the space of seven years, entirely at the mercy of its enemies? and whether, if unlimited authority should be allowed to the parliament for so long a term, it might not easily retain possession of the sword, as well as of every department of civil power and jurisdiction⁴⁴? After the debate had been carried on to no purpose for twenty days, the commissioners separated, and returned to London and Oxford.

While the king was thus endeavouring to bring about an accommodation with the English parliament by the most humiliating concessions, some events happened in Scotland that seemed to promise a more prosperous issue to his declining affairs. James Graham, marquis of Montrose, a man of a bold and generous spirit, filled with indignation to see the majority of two kingdoms conspire against their lawful, and, in many respects, indulgent sovereign, undertook by his own credit, and that of a few friends, who had not yet forgotten their allegiance, to raise such commotions in Scotland as should oblige the covenanters to recal their forces. With a body of men from Ireland, amounting to about twelve hundred, and eight hundred Highlanders, indifferently armed, he defeated an army of six thousand covenanters, under lord Elcho, near Perth, and killed or wounded two thousand of them⁴⁵.

In consequence of this victory, by which he acquired arms and ammunition, Montrose was enabled to prosecute his enterprise, in defiance of the opposition of the covenanters. His daring soul delighted in perilous undertakings: he eluded every danger, and seized the most unexpected advantages. He retreated sixty miles in the face of a superior army without sustaining any loss: he took Dundee by assault, and defeated the marquis of Argyle at Inverlochy, after having gratified the Macdonalds with the pillage of that nobleman's country. The power of the

⁴⁴ Dugdale, p. 877.—The parliamentarians were no less unreasonable with regard to Ireland. They demanded, that the truce with the rebels should be declared null; that the management of the war should be given up entirely to the parliament; and after the conquest of Ireland, that the nomination of the lord-lieutenant, and of the judges, or, in other words, the sovereignty of that kingdom, should remain in their hands.

⁴⁵ Rushworth, vol. vi.—Wishart, chap. v.

Campbells being thus broken, the Highlanders, who were in general well affected to the royal cause, joined Montrose in more considerable bodies. By their assistance he successively defeated Baillie and Urry, two officers of reputation, sent from England to crush him, and who were confident of victory from the superiority of their numbers, as well as from the discipline of their troops. He defeated Baillie a second time, with great slaughter, at Alford. And the terror of his name, and the admiration of his valour, being now great over all the north of Scotland, he summoned his friends and partisans, and prepared to march into the southern provinces, that he might restore the king's authority, and give a final blow to the power of the covenanters⁴⁶.

But, unhappily for Charles, before Montrose could prosecute his success so far as to oblige the covenanters to withdraw any part of their forces, events had taken place in England which rendered the royal cause almost desperate. In consequence of the change in the formation of the parliamentary army, the officers, in most regiments, assumed the spiritual as well as military command over their men. They supplied the place of chaplains; and during the intervals of action, occupied themselves in sermons, prayers, and pious exhortations. These wild effusions were mistaken by the soldiers, and perhaps even by those who uttered them, for divine illuminations; and gave new weight to the authority of the officers, and new energy to the valour of their troops. In marching to battle, they lifted up their souls to God in psalms and hymns, and made the whole field resound with spiritual as well as martial music⁴⁷. The sense of present danger was lost in the prospect of eternal felicity; wounds were esteemed meritorious in so holy a cause, and death martyrdom. Every one seemed animated, not with the vain idea of conquest or the ambition of worldly greatness, but by the brighter hope of attaining in heaven an everlasting crown of glory.

The royalists, ignorant of the influence of this enthusiasm, in rousing the courage of their antagonists, treated it with contempt and ridicule. In the mean time, their own licentious conduct, if less ludicrous, was less consistent with the character of soldiers or of citizens. As formidable even to their friends as they were to their enemies, they in some places laid the country waste by their undistinguishing rapine. So mischievous were their practices, that many of the most devoted friends of the church and monarchy now wished for such success to the

⁴⁶ Burnet's Hist. vol. i.—Wishart, chap. 10. 11.—Rushworth.

⁴⁷ Rushworth, vol. vi.—Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell.

parliamentary forces as might put a stop to these oppressions : and the depredations committed in Scotland, by the Highlanders under Montrose, made the approach of the royal army the object of terror to both parties, over the whole island⁴⁸.

Under these disadvantages, it was impossible for the king much longer to continue the war : the very licentiousness of his own troops was sufficient to ruin his cause. On the opening of the campaign, however, being joined by the princes Rupert and Maurice, he left Oxford with an army of fifteen thousand men, in the hope of striking some decisive blow. The new-modelled parliamentary army, under Fairfax and Cromwell, was posted at Windsor, and amounted to about twenty-two thousand men. Yet Charles, in spite of their vigilance, effected the relief of Chester, which had long been blockaded by sir William Brereton ; and, in his return southward, he took Leicester by storm, after a furious assault, and gratified his soldiers with a valuable booty. Fifteen hundred prisoners fell into his hands⁴⁹.

Alarmed at this success, Fairfax, who had received orders from the parliament to besiege Oxford during the king's absence, immediately left that place, and marched to Leicester, with an intention of giving battle to the royal army. Charles, in the mean time, was advancing toward Oxford, in order to raise the siege, which he apprehended was already in some forwardness ; so that the two armies were within a few miles of each other, before they were aware of their danger. The king called a council of war; in which it was rashly resolved, through the influence of prince Rupert and the impatient spirit of the nobility and gentry, that Fairfax should be attacked without delay; though the royalists had the prospect of being soon reinforced with three thousand horse and two thousand foot, under experienced officers. They accordingly advanced June 14. upon the parliamentarians, who appeared in order of battle on a rising ground, near Naseby in the county of Northampton.

The king himself commanded the main body of the royal army, prince Rupert the right wing, and sir Marmaduke Langdale the left. The main body of the parliamentary army was conducted by Fairfax, seconded by Skippon; the right wing by Cromwell; the left by Ireton, Cromwell's son-in-law. The

48 Rushworth, vol. vii.—Clarendon, vol. iv.—This licentiousness was partly occasioned by the want of pay; but other causes conspired to carry it to its present degree of enormity. Prince Rupert, negligent of the interests of the people and fond of the soldiers, had ever indulged the latter in unwarrantable liberties. Wilnot, a man of dissolute manners, had promoted the same spirit of disorder; and too many other commanders improved on the pernicious example.

49 Clarendon, vol. iv.

prince began the charge with his usual impetuosity and success. Ireton's whole wing was routed and chased off the field, and himself wounded and taken prisoner. The king led on his main body with firmness ; and displayed, in the action, all the conduct of an experienced general, and all the courage of a gallant soldier. The parliamentary infantry gave way, in spite of the utmost efforts of Fairfax and Skippon, and would have been totally routed, if the body of reserve had not been brought to their relief. Meanwhile Cromwell, having broken the left wing of the royalists under Langdale, and pursued it a little way, returned upon the king's infantry, and threw him into confusion. At length prince Rupert, who had imprudently wasted his time in a fruitless attempt to seize the enemy's artillery, joined the king with his cavalry, though too late to turn the tide of battle. "One charge more," cried Charles, "and we recover the day !" But his troops, aware of the disadvantage under which they laboured, could by no means be prevailed on to renew the combat. He was obliged to quit the field : and although the parliament had eight hundred, and he only six hundred men slain, scarcely any victory could be more complete. About four thousand five hundred royalists were taken prisoners, among whom were three hundred officers ; and all the king's baggage, artillery, and ammunition, fell into the hands of the enemy⁵⁰.

50 Whitelocke, p. 145, 146.—Rushworth, vol. vii.—Clarendon, vol. iv.—Among other spoils, the king's cabinet fell into the hands of the enemy. It contained copies of his letters to the queen, which were afterwards wantonly published by the parliament, accompanied with malicious comments. They are written with delicacy and tenderness ; and, at worst, only show that he was too fondly attached to a woman of wit and beauty, who had the misfortune to be a papist, and who had acquired a dangerous influence over him. She is certainly chargeable with some of his most unpopular and even arbitrary measures.

LETTER VII.

Of the Affairs of England, from the battle of Naseby to the Execution of Charles I. and the Subversion of the Monarchy in 1649.

AFTER the battle of Naseby, the king's affairs so rapidly declined in all quarters, that he ordered the prince of Wales, now fifteen years of age, to retire beyond sea, and save at least one part of the royal family from the violence of the parliament. The prince retired to Jersey, and afterwards to Paris, where he joined the queen, who had fled thither from Exeter, when the earl of Essex conducted the parliamentary army to the West. The king himself retreated first to Hereford, then to Abergavenny; and remained some time in Wales, in hopes of raising a body of infantry in that loyal but exhausted country.

In the mean time the parliamentary generals and the Scots made themselves masters of almost every place of importance in the kingdom, and every where routed and dispersed the royalists. Fairfax and Cromwell immediately retook Leicester; and having also reduced Bridgewater, Bath, and Sherborne, they resolved, before they divided their forces, to besiege Bristol, into which prince Rupert had thrown himself, with an intention of defending to the utmost a place of so much consequence. Vast preparations were made for an enterprise, which, from the strength of the garrison, and the reputation of the governor, was expected to require the greatest exertions of valour and perseverance. But so precarious a quality, in most men, is military courage, that a poorer defence was not made by any town during the course of the war. Though prince Rupert had written a letter to the king, in which he undertook to hold Sept. 10. out four months if the garrison did not mutiny, he surrendered the place a few days after, on articles of capitulation, and at the first summons¹.

Charles, astonished at this unexpected event, which was scarcely less fatal to the royal cause than the battle of Naseby, and full of indignation at the manner in which so important a city had been given up at the very time he was collecting forces for its relief, instantly recalled all Rupert's commissions, and ordered him to quit the kingdom. After an unsuccessful at-

¹ Rushworth, vol. vii.—Clarendon, vol. iv

tempt to raise the siege of Chester, the king himself took refuge with the remains of his broken army in Oxford, where he continued during the winter².

Fairfax and Cromwell having divided their armies, after the surrender of Bristol, reduced to obedience all the west and middle counties of England; while the Scots took Carlisle, and other places of importance in the North. Lord Digby, in attempting to break into Scotland, and join Montrose with twelve hundred horse, was defeated at Sherborne, in Yorkshire, by colonel Copley; and to complete the king's misfortunes, news soon after arrived, that Montrose himself, the only remaining hope of the royal party, was at last routed.

That gallant nobleman, having descended into the low country, had defeated the whole force of the covenanters at Kilsyth, and left them no remains of an army in Scotland. Edinburgh opened its gates to him; and many of the nobility and gentry, who secretly favoured the royal cause, when they saw a force able to support them, declared openly for it. But Montrose, advancing still farther south, in hopes of being joined by lord Digby, was surprised, through the negligence of his Sept. 13. scouts, at Philiphaugh, near Selkirk, by a strong body of cavalry under David Leslie, who had been detached from the Scottish army in England, in order to check the career of this heroic leader; and, after a short conflict, in which he displayed the highest exertions of valour, the marquis was obliged to quit the field, and fly with his broken forces into the Highlands³.

The covenanters used their victory with great rigour.—Many of the prisoners were butchered in cold blood; and sir Robert Spotswood, and other persons of distinction, were condemned and executed. The clergy instigated the civil power to this severity, and even desired that more blood might be shed upon the scaffold. The pulpit thundered against all who did the work of the Lord imperfectly. “Thine eye shall not pity!” and “Thou shalt not spare!” were maxims frequently inculcated after every execution⁴.

² Rushworth, vol. vii.—Clarendon, vol. iv.

³ Wishart, chap. 13.—Rushworth, vol. vii.—Montrose's army, when attacked by Leslie, was much reduced by the desertion of the Highlanders, who had returned home in great numbers, in order to secure the plunder they had acquired in the South, which they considered as inexhaustible wealth.

⁴ Burnet's Hist. vol. i.—See also Guthrie's Memoirs.—The presbyterians about this time, considering themselves as the chosen people of God, and regulating their conduct by the maxims of the Old Testament, seem to have departed totally from the spirit of the Gospel. Instead of forgiving their enemies, they had no bowels of compassion for those who differed from them in the slightest article of faith.

The king's condition during the winter, was truly deplorable. Harassed by discontented officers, who over-rated those services and sufferings which they now apprehended must for ever go unrewarded, and by generous friends whose misfortunes wrung his heart with sorrow; oppressed by past disasters, and apprehensive of future calamities, he was in no period of his unfortunate life more sincerely to be pitied. In vain did he attempt to negotiate with the parliamentarians: they would not deign to listen to him, but gave him to understand, that he must yield at discretion⁵. The only remaining body of his troops, on which fortune could exercise her rigour, and which he had ordered to march toward Oxford under lord Astley, to reinforce the garrison of that city, received a total defeat from March 21, colonel Morgan, at Stow on the Would. "You 1646. have done your work," said Astley to the officers by whom he was taken prisoner: "and may now go to play, unless you choose to fall out among yourselves⁶."

Thus deprived of all hope of prevailing over the parliament, either by arms or treaty, the only prospect of better fortune that remained to the king was in the dissensions of his enemies.—The civil and religious disputes between the presbyterians and independents agitated the whole kingdom. The presbyterian religion was now established in England in all its forms: and its followers, pleading the eternal obligations of the covenant to extirpate schism and heresy, menaced their opponents with the same rigid persecution under which they themselves had groaned while held in subjection by the hierarchy. But although Charles entertained some hopes of reaping advantage from these divisions, he was much at a loss to determine with which side it would be most for his interest to take part. The presbyterians were, by their principles, less inimical to monarchy, but they were bent upon the extirpation of prelacy; whereas the independents, though resolute to lay the foundation of a republican government, as they pretended not to erect themselves into a national church, might be willing to allow the re-establishment of the hierarchy; and Charles was, at all times, willing to put episcopal jurisdiction in competition with regal authority.

But the approach of Fairfax toward Oxford put an end to these deliberations, and induced the king to embrace a measure

⁵ Clarendon, vol. iv.

⁶ Rushworth, vol. vii.—It was the same Astley who made the following short but emphatical prayer before he led on his men at the battle of Edgehill: "O Lord, thou knowest how busy I must be this day; If I forget thee, do not thou forget me!" and then cried, "March on, boys!"—Warwick, p. 229.

that must ever be considered as imprudent. Afraid of falling into the hands of his insolent enemies, and of being led in triumph by them, he resolved to throw himself on the generosity of the Scots, without sufficiently reflecting that he must, by such a step, disgust his English subjects of all denominations, and that the Scottish covenanters were not only his declared enemies, but now acted as auxiliaries to the English parliament. He left Oxford, however, and retired to their camp before Newark. The Scottish generals and commissioners affected great surprise at the appearance of Charles, May. 5. though previously acquainted with his design; and while they paid him all the exterior respect due to his dignity, and appointed him a guard under pretence of protecting him, they made him in reality a prisoner⁷. Their next step was to assure the English parliament, that they had entered into no treaty with the king, and that his arrival among them was altogether unexpected. Sensible, however, of the value of their prisoner, and alarmed at some motions of the English army, they thought proper to retire northward, and fixed their camp at Newcastle. This movement was highly agreeable to Charles, who now began to entertain the most sanguine hopes of protection from the Scots. But he soon found cause to alter his opinion; and had, in the mean time, little reason to be pleased with his situation. All his friends were kept at a distance, and all correspondence with them was prohibited. And the covenanters, after insulting him from the pulpit, and engaging him, by deceitful or unavailing negotiations, to disarm his adherents in both kingdoms, agreed to deliver him up to the English parliament, on condition of the payment of their arrears, which were compounded at four hundred thousand pounds sterling⁸. The king was accordingly put into the hands of the parliamentary commissioners, and conducted under a guard to Holmby in Northamptonshire. Jan. 28, 1647.

The civil war was now over. The Scots returned to their own country, and every one submitted to the authority of the ruling powers. But the dominion of the parliament was of short duration. No sooner was the king subdued, than the division between the presbyterians and independents became every day more evident; and as nothing remained to confine the wild projects of

⁷ Rushworth, vol. vii.—Clarendon, vol. v.

⁸ Rushworth, vol. vii.—Parl. Hist. vol. xv.—The infamy of this transaction had such an effect on the members of the Scottish parliament, that they voted the king should be protected, and his liberty insisted on. But the general assembly interposed, and declared, that, as he had refused to take the covenant, which was pressed on him, it became not the *godly* to concern themselves about his future *welfare*. After this declaration, the parliament retracted its vote. Such influence had the presbyterian clergy in those days?

zeal and ambition, after the sacred boundaries of law had been violated, the independents, who, in consequence of the self-denying ordinance, had obtained the command of the army, solaced themselves with the prospect of a new revolution. Such a revolution as they desired was accomplished by the assistance of the military power, which precipitated the parliament from its slippery throne.

The manner in which this change was effected it must now be our business to examine, and to notice the most striking circumstances that accompanied it. The presbyterians still retained the superiority among the commons, and all the peers, except lord Say, were esteemed of that party; but the independents, to whom the inferior sectaries adhered, predominated in the army, and the troops on the new establishment were universally infected with that enthusiastic spirit. Aware of this, and knowing also that their antagonists trusted to the sword, in their projects for acquiring an ascendancy, the presbyterian leaders, under pretence of diminishing the public burthens, obtained a vote for disbanding one part of the army, and for sending another part into Ireland, in order to subdue the rebels in that kingdom⁹.

The soldiers had no great inclination to serve in the ravaged districts of Ireland; and still less did they wish to be disbanded. Most of the officers having risen from the lowest conditions, were alarmed at the thought of returning to their original poverty, at a time when they hoped to enjoy, in ease and tranquillity, that pay which they had earned through so many dangers and fatigues. They entered into mutinous combinations; and the two houses of parliament, under apprehensions for their own safety, inconsiderately sent Cromwell, Ireton, and Fleetwood, the secret authors of all these discontents, to make offers to the army, and inquire into the cause of its *distempers*.

This was the crisis for Cromwell to lay the foundation of his future greatness; and he did not fail to take advantage of it. By his suggestion, a measure was embraced, which at once brought matters to extremity, and rendered the mutiny incurable. In opposition to the parliament at Westminster, a kind of military parliament was formed; consisting, first, of a council of the principal officers, in imitation of the house of peers; and next, of a more free representation of the army, by the election of two private men or inferior officers, under the title of *Agitators*, from each troop or company. This terrible consistory declared that no *distempers* could be found in the army, but many *grievances*; and immediately voted the offers of the parliament unsatisfactory¹⁰.

⁹ Rushworth, vol. vii.

¹⁰ Whitelocke, p. 250.—Rushworth.

The two houses of parliament made another trial of their authority; they voted, that all the troops that did not engage to serve in Ireland should instantly be disbanded in their quarters. In answer to this vote, the council of the army, which was entirely governed by Cromwell, commanded a general rendezvous of all the regiments, in order to provide for their common interests. And at the same time that they thus prepared themselves for opposition to the parliament, they struck a blow, which at once decided the victory in their favour. They sent a party of horse to Holmby, under cornet Joyce, a famous agitator; and this rough soldier, rudely entering the royal apartment, and pointing to his troopers when asked for his authority, conducted the astonished monarch to the rendezvous of the army¹¹. June 4.

The parliamentary leaders, when informed of this event, were thrown into the utmost consternation. Nor was Fairfax, the general, who was totally ignorant of the enterprise of Joyce, a little surprised at the arrival of his sovereign. That bold measure had been solely concerted by Cromwell; who by seizing the king's person, and thus depriving the two houses of all means of accommodation with him, hoped to be able to dictate to them, in the name of the army, what conditions he thought proper. He accordingly engaged Fairfax to advance with the troops to St. Alban's, in order to overawe the deliberations of the parliament. This movement had the desired effect. A vote by which the military petitioners had been declared public enemies, was recalled; and the army, hoping by terror alone to effect its purposes, entered into a negotiation with its masters, without advancing nearer to the capital¹².

In that negotiation, the advantages were greatly in favour of the army. They had not only the sword in their hand, but the parliament had now become the object of general odium, as much as ever it had been the idol of superstitious veneration. The self-denying ordinance, introduced only to serve a temporary purpose, was soon laid aside, by tacit consent; and the members, sharing all offices of power and profit among them, proceeded with impunity in oppressing the helpless people. Though near one half of the lands, rents, and revenues of the kingdom had been sequestered, the imposts were far higher than in any period of the English government. The excise, an odious tax, formerly unknown to the nation, had been introduced; and it was now extended over provisions, and the common necessities of life. But what excited general complaint was the tyranny of the provincial committees, which could sequester, fine, imprison and corporally

11 Clarendon, vol. v.—Rushworth, vol. vii.

12 Id. Ibid.

punish without law or remedy¹³. They interposed even in questions of private property; and, under colour of malignancy, they exercised vengeance against their private enemies. Thus, my dear Philip, instead of one star-chamber which had been abolished, a great number were erected, fortified with better pretences, and armed with more unlimited authority.

The parliamentary leaders, conscious of the decay of their popularity, were reduced to despair on the approach of the army; and the officers, no less sensible of it, were thereby encouraged in their usurpations on the parliament; in which they copied the model set them by the parliament itself, in its last usurpations upon the crown. They rose every day in their demands: one claim was no sooner yielded, than another, still more exorbitant and enormous, was presented. At first they pretended only to petition for what concerned them as soldiers; then, they must have a vindication of their character; soon afterward, it was necessary that their enemies should be punished; and, at last, they claimed a right of new-moulding the government, and of settling the nation¹⁴. They even proceeded so far as to name eleven members, the very leaders of the presbyterian party, whom they charged with high treason, as enemies to the army, and evil counsellors to the parliament: and they insisted, that these individuals should be immediately suspended from their public functions¹⁵. The commons replied, that they could not proceed so far upon a general charge. The army adduced, as precedents, the cases of Strafford and Laud; and the obnoxious members themselves, not willing to be the occasion of discord, begged leave to retire from the house¹⁶.

The army seemed satisfied with this proof of submission, and, in order to preserve appearances, removed, at the desire of the parliament, to a greater distance from London, and fixed its head-quarters at Reading, still having the king in its custody.

Nor was Charles displeased at this jealous watchfulness over his person. He now began to find of what consequence he was to both parties; and fortune, amid all his calamities, seemed again to flatter him. The two houses, afraid of his forming some accommodation with the army, addressed him in a more respectful style than they had for some time employed, and even invited him to reside at Richmond, and contribute his assistance toward the adjustment of national affairs. The chief officers of the army

¹³ Walker's Hist. of Independency.—Rushworth, vol. vii.—Parl. Hist. vol. xv.

¹⁴ Rushworth, vol. vii. and viii.

¹⁵ The names of these members were sir Philip Stapleton, sir William Lewis, sir John Clotworthy, sir William Waller, sir John Maynard, Holland, Massey, Glyne, Nichol, Long, and Harley.

¹⁶ Parl. Hist. vol. xv.—Rushworth

treated him with apparent regard; and the settlement of his revenue and authority was insisted on, in the public declarations of that body; so that the royalists conceived hopes of the re-establishment of monarchy.

Though the king kept his ear open to all proposals, and hoped to hold the balance between the opposite parties, he entertained stronger hopes of an accommodation with the army than with the parliament, whose rigour he had severely felt. To this opinion he was particularly inclined, by the proposals sent from the council of officers for the settlement of the nation; in which they neither insisted on the abolition of episcopacy nor on the punishment of the royalists—the very points that he was extremely unwilling to yield, and which had rendered every former negotiation abortive. He also hoped, that, by gratifying a few persons with titles and preferments, he might draw over the whole military power, and at once reinstate himself in his civil authority. To Cromwell he offered the garter, a peerage, and the command of the army; and to Ireton, the lieutenancy of Ireland. Nor did he think that they could reasonably, from their birth or former situation, entertain more ambitious views¹⁷.

Cromwell, willing to keep a door open for an accommodation with the king, if the course of events should render it necessary, pretended to listen to these secret negotiations; but he continued, at the same time, his scheme of reducing the parliament to subjection, and of depriving it of all means of resistance. For this purpose it was required, that the militia of the city of London should be changed, the presbyterian commissioners displaced, and the command restored to those who had exercised it during the course of the war. The parliament complied even with so imperious a demand, hoping to find a more favourable conjuncture for the recovery of its authority and influence. But the impatience of the city deprived that assembly of all prospect of advantage from its cautious measures, and afforded the troops a plausible pretext for their concerted violence. A petition against the alteration of the militia was drawn up by the citizens; and its presentation was supported by a seditious multitude, who besieged the house of commons, and obliged the members to reverse the vote they had so lately passed¹⁸.

No sooner was intelligence of this tumult conveyed to Reading, than the troops began their march toward the capital, to vindicate, as they said, the invaded privileges of parliament against the seditious citizens, and restore that assembly to its just freedom of debate and counsel. They were met on Hounslow-heath by the speakers of the two houses, accompanied with

¹⁷ Parl. Hist. vol. xvi.—Clarendon, vol. v.

¹⁸ Rushworth, vol. vii

eight peers, and about sixty commoners ; who, having secretly retired from the city, presented themselves before the army with their maces, and all the ensigns of their dignity, complaining of the violence put upon them, and craving protection¹⁹.

The remaining members prepared themselves with vigour for defence, and seemed resolutely bent on resistance. The two houses immediately chose new speakers, renewed their orders for enlisting troops, and commanded the militia to man the lines. But the terror of an universal pillage, and even of a massacre, having seized the timid inhabitants, the parliament was obliged to submit. The army marched in triumph through the city, but Aug. 6. without committing any outrage. The speakers who had seceded now resumed their seats, as if nothing had happened ; and the eleven impeached members, being accused as the authors of the tumult, were expelled. Seven peers were impeached ; the lord mayor, one sheriff, and three aldermen, were sent to the Tower ; several citizens and officers of the militia were committed to prison ; the lines round the city were levelled ; the militia restored to the independents ; and the parliament being reduced to absolute servitude, a day was appointed for a solemn thanksgiving to God for the restoration of its liberty²⁰.

The independents, who had secretly concurred in all the encroachments of the military upon the civil power, exulted in their victory. They had now a near prospect of moulding the government into the form of that imaginary republic which had long been the object of their wishes ; and they vainly expected, by the terror of the sword, to impose a more perfect system of liberty on the nation, without perceiving that they themselves, by such a conduct, must become slaves to some military despot. Yet were the leaders of this party, Vane, Fiennes, St. John, and others, the men in England most celebrated for sound thought and deep design ; so certain it is, that an extravagant passion for sway will make the most prudent overlook the dangerous consequences of those measures which seem to tend to their own aggrandisement. Men under the influence of such a passion may be said to see objects only on one side : hence the hero and the politician, as well as the lover, in the failure of their self-deceived projects, have often occasion to lament their own blindness.

The king, however, derived some temporary advantages from this revolution. The leaders of the army, having now established their dominion over the city and parliament, ventured to bring their captive sovereign to his palace of Hampton-court ; where he lived, for a time, with an appearance of dignity and

¹⁹ Rushworth, vol. viii.

²⁰ Id. *ibid.*—Hume, vol. vii.

freedom. He still entertained hopes that his negotiations with the generals would be crowned with success, and declined all advances from the parliament. Cromwell, it is asserted, really intended to have made a private bargain with the king, but found insuperable difficulties in attempting to reconcile the military fanatics to such a measure. This reason, it is at least certain, he assigned for more rarely admitting the visits of the king's friends. The agitators, he said, had already rendered him odious to the army, by representing him as a traitor, who, for the sake of private interest, was ready to betray the cause of God to the great enemy of piety and religion²¹.

Cromwell thus finding, or pretending to find, that he could not safely close with the king's proposals, affected to be much alarmed for his majesty's safety. Violent schemes, he asserted, were formed by the agitators against the life of the captive monarch; and he was apprehensive, he said, that the commanding officers might not be able to restrain those desperate enthusiasts from effecting their bloody purpose²². That no precaution, however, might seem to be neglected, the guards were doubled upon him, the promiscuous concourse of people was restrained; and a more jealous care was exerted in attending his person; all under colour of protecting him from danger, but really with a view of making his present situation uneasy to him.

These artifices soon produced the desired effect. Charles took a sudden resolution of withdrawing himself from Hampton-court. He accordingly made his escape, attended by Nov. 11. three gentlemen, in whom he placed particular confidence, namely, sir John Berkeley, Ashburnham, and Legge, though seemingly without any rational plan for the future disposal of his person. He first went toward the sea-coast, and expressed great anxiety, that a certain ship, in which it was supposed he intended to transport himself beyond sea, had not arrived. After secreting himself for some time at Titchfield, he determined to put himself under the protection of colonel Hammond, governor of the isle of Wight, nephew to Dr. Hammond, his favourite chaplain, but intimately connected with the republican party. For this purpose, Ashburnham and Berkeley were despatched to that island, but with orders not to discover to the governor the place where the king lay concealed, until they had obtained a promise from him, that he would not deliver up his majesty to the parliament or the army. Such a promise would have been a slender security; yet Ashburnham imprudently, if not treacherously, brought the colonel to Titchfield, without exacting it: and the king was obliged to accompany him

²¹ Clarendon, vol. v.—Rushworth, vol. viij.

²² Rushworth, vol. viii.

to Carisbroke castle, where, although received with expressions of duty and respect, he found himself a mere prisoner²³.

It is impossible to say how far the firmest mind may, on some occasions, be influenced by the apprehensions of personal danger; but it is certain that Charles never took a weaker step, or one more agreeable to his enemies, than in abandoning his palace of Hampton-court. There, though a captive, he was of more consequence than he could be in any other place, unless at the head of an army. He was now indeed far enough removed from the fury of the agitators; but he was also totally separated from his adherents, and still at the disposal of the army. The generals could undoubtedly, have sent him at any time, while in their custody, to such a place of confinement; but the attempt might have roused the returning loyalty of the nation. It was therefore an incident as fortunate for his persecutors as it proved fatal to himself, that he should thus timidly rush into the snare.

Cromwell being now freed from all anxiety in regard to the custody of the king's person, and entirely master of the parliament, employed himself seriously to cure the disorders of the army. That arrogant spirit, which he himself had so artfully fostered among the inferior officers and private men, to prepare them for a rebellion against their masters, and which he had so successfully employed both against the king and the parliament, now became dangerous to their leaders. The camp, in many respects, carried more the appearance of civil liberty than of military subordination. The troops themselves were formed into a kind of republic: and all hostile opposition being at an end, nothing was now talked of by these armed legislators, but plans of imaginary commonwealths, in which royalty was to be abolished, nobility set aside, all ranks of men levelled, and an universal equality of property as well as of power introduced among the citizens. A perfect parity, they said, had place among the elect; and consequently the meanest sentinel, if enlightened by the Holy Ghost, was entitled to equal regard with the highest commander²⁴.

To mortify this spiritual pride, Cromwell issued orders for discontinuing the meetings of the agitators; and having nothing farther to fear from the parliament, he resolved to make that assembly the instrument of his future authority, and feigned the most perfect obedience to its commands. But the *Levellers*, as the fanatics of the army were called, secretly continued their

²³ All the historians of that age, except the earl of Clarendon, whose authority is chiefly followed in this narration, represent the king's departure for the isle of Wight as altogether voluntary. He seems to have probability on his side, in ascribing that measure partly to necessity. Hist. vol. v.

²⁴ Walker's Hist. of Independency.

meetings ; and at length began to affirm, that the military establishment, as much as any part of the church or state, stood in need of reformation. Several regiments joined in seditious remonstrances and petitions ; separate rendezvous were concerted ; and every thing tended to anarchy and confusion, when the bold genius of Cromwell applied a remedy adequate to the disease. At a general review of the forces, he ordered the ring-leaders to be seized in the face of their companions. He held a council of war in the field; shot one mutineer, confined others, and by his well-timed rigour reduced the whole army to discipline and obedience²⁵.

Cromwell's power was now too great to permit him to suffer an equal ; although, the better to accomplish his ambitious purposes, he willingly allowed Fairfax to retain the name of commander-in-chief. But, while the king lived, he was still in danger of finding a master. The destruction of Charles was, therefore, the great object that thenceforth engaged his thoughts. Commotions, he was sensible, would frequently arise, and perhaps a general combination might be formed in favour of a prince who was so revered and beloved by his own party, and whom the majority of the nation began to regard with an eye of affectionate compassion. But how to despatch him was a question not easy to answer. To murder him privately, beside the baseness of the crime, would expose all concerned in it to the odious epithets of traitors and assassins, and rouse universal indignation. Some unexpected measure, he foresaw must be adopted, which, coinciding with the fanatical notions of the entire equality of mankind, would bear the semblance of justice, ensure the devoted obedience of the army, and astonish the world by its novelty : but what that should be, he could not yet fully determine.

In order to extricate himself from this difficulty, Cromwell had recourse to the counsels of Ireton ; who, having grafted the soldier on the lawyer, and the statesman on the saint, thought himself absolved from the ordinary rules of morality in the prosecution of his holy purposes. At his suggestion, Cromwell secretly called, at Windsor, a council of the chief officers of the army, to deliberate upon the settlement of the nation, and the future disposal of the king's person. And in that hypocritical conference, after many enthusiastic prayers and fatiguing effusions, was first opened the daring counsel of subjecting the king to a judicial sentence, and of rebel subjects bringing their sovereign to the block for his pretended tyranny and misadministration²⁶.

²⁵ Rushworth, vol. viii.—Clarendon, vol. v.

²⁶ Rushworth, vol. viii.—Clarendon, vol. v.

This resolution being solemnly formed, it became necessary to concert such schemes as would constrain the parliament to adopt it—in other words, to lead that assembly from one violent measure to another, till that last act of atrocious iniquity should seem essential to the safety of the leading members. The Levelers were prepared for such a proceeding by frequent sermons from the following passage of Scripture, on which the fanatical preachers of those times delighted to dwell: “Let the high praises of the Lord be in the mouths of his saints, and a two-edged sword in their hands, to execute vengeance upon the heathen, and punishment upon the people; to bind their kings with chains, and their nobles with fetters of iron, to execute upon them the judgments written! This honour have all his saints.”

The conspirators accordingly, as a first step toward their bloody purpose, instigated the independents, who now had the chief influence in the house of commons, to frame four propositions, by way of preliminaries, which were sent to the king, and to each of which they demanded his positive assent, before they would condescend to treat with him, though they knew that the whole would be rejected. Those propositions were altogether exorbitant. Charles therefore demanded a personal treaty with the parliament; and desired, that the general terms on both sides should be adjusted, before particular concessions on either side should be insisted on. The republican party in parliament pretended to take fire at this answer, and openly inveighed against the person and government of the king; while Ireton, seeming to speak the sense of the army, under the appellation of *many thousands of the godly*, said that, the king having rejected the four propositions, which were essential to the safety and protection of his people, they were freed from all obligations to allegiance, and must settle the nation without consulting so misguided prince. Cromwell added, that it was expected the parliament would thenceforth rule and defend the kingdom by its own power and resolutions, and no longer accustom the people to look for safety and government from an obstinate man, whose heart God had hardened²⁷. In consequence of these arguments, it was voted, that no more address should be made to the king, nor any letters or messages received from him; and that it should be accounted treason for any one, without leave of the two houses of parliament, to have the least intercourse with him²⁸.

By this vote the king was in fact dethroned, and the whole constitution overthrown. And the commons, to support this extraordinary measure, issued a declaration in which the blackest calumnies were thrown upon the king; as if they had hoped,

²⁷ Wer's Hist. of Independency.

²⁸ Rushworth, vol. viii.

by blasting his fame, to prepare the nation for the violence intended against his person. By order of the army, he was subjected to close confinement: all his servants were removed, and he was debarred from all correspondence with his friends. In this state of dreary solitude, while he expected every moment to be poisoned or assassinated, he reposed himself with confidence in the arms of that Great Being who penetrates and sustains all nature, and whose chastisements, if received with piety and resignation, he regarded as the surest pledges of favour and affection²⁹.

The army and parliament did not enjoy in tranquillity that power which they had usurped. The Scots, enraged at the depression of the presbyterian party, had protested against the four propositions, as containing too great a diminution of the king's civil power, and providing no security for religion; and the persons sent to London for this purpose, and who accompanied the English commissioners to the isle of Wight, had secretly entered into engagements with Charles for arming Scotland in his favour³⁰. Nor was England quiet under its new masters. The people, roused from their delirium, found themselves loaded with a variety of taxes formerly unknown, and scarcely any appearance of law or liberty remaining in the administration of the realm. Many parts of the country were agitated with tumults, insurrections, and conspiracies; and all orders of men were inflamed with indignation at seeing the military prevail over the civil power, and both king and parliament reduced to subjection by a mercenary army.

But, although the different parties among the English seemed to agree in declaring their detestation of military tyranny, the ends which they pursued were so different, that little concert was observed in their insurrections. A jealousy also prevailed between them and the Scots, who had sent a considerable army southward, under the duke of Hamilton; and before the parliament, where the presbyterians had again acquired the ascendant, could conclude a new treaty with the king, Cromwell and his associates, by their vigour and activity, had routed the Scots, and dispersed or subdued all the English insurgents. But the parliament, though deprived of all hopes of prevailing, had still the courage to resist. Holles, the leader of the presbyterians, was a man of great intrepidity; and many others of the party

²⁹ Hume, vol. vii.—“Whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth,” was indeed a text that Charles had much occasion to call to his assistance; and a firm belief in this consolatory doctrine supported him under all his sufferings, and made him triumph even in the hour of death.

³⁰ Clarendon, vol. v.—Burnet's Mem. of Hamilt

seemed to possess the same unconquerable spirit. It was magnanimously proposed by these bold senators, that the generals and principal officers of the army should, for their disobedience and usurpations, be proclaimed traitors by the parliament³¹.

The generals, however, were not to be terrified by words.—They marched to London, and surrounded the parliament with their forces. Yet the commons attempted, in the face of the army, to finish their treaty with Charles; and it was voted by a majority of forty six, that the king's concessions were sufficient grounds for proceeding to the settlement of the kingdom. This was the time for the generals to interpose; and they knew it.—The next morning, when the commons were to meet, colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, had, by order of his superiors, environed the house with a party of soldiers. He seized in the passage forty one members of the presbyterian party: about a hundred and fifty others were excluded; and none were allowed to enter but the most furious and determined of the independents, who did not amount to seventy. This remnant, ludicrously called the *Rump*, instantly reversed the former vote, and declared the king's concessions unsatisfactory³².

The future proceedings of the parliament, if a fanatical junto entirely under the direction of the army can deserve that honourable name, were worthy of the members who composed it.—After having exercised their vengeance on all whom they feared, or who had been engaged in the late insurrections, they determined to close the scene with the public trial and execution of their sovereign. A committee was accordingly appointed to Jan. 1, 1649. prepare a charge against the king: and, when it was produced, a vote passed, declaring it *High Treason* in a king to *levy war* against his *Parliament*, and appointing a *High Court of Justice* to try CHARLES STUART for that crime. This vote was sent up to the house of peers, and rejected without one dissentient voice, contemptible as were the few peers that now attended! But the commons were not to be stopped by so small an obstacle. Having first established the Jan. 4. principle, that “the *people* are, under God, the *origin* of *all just power*,”—a maxim noble in itself, but which, as in the present case, may be perverted to the worst of purposes,—they voted, “that the commons of England, assembled in parliament, being chosen by the people, and representing them, have the supreme authority of the nation, and that whatever is enacted and declared law by the commons hath the force of law, without the consent of the king or house of

31 Rushworth, vol. viii.—Clarendon, vol. v.

32 Rushworth, vol. viii.—Clarendon, vol. v.—Hume, vol. vii

peers³³." Then the ordinance for the trial of the king was again read, and unanimously agreed to.

"Should any one have voluntarily proposed," said Cromwell, "to bring the king to punishment, I should have regarded him as the greatest traitor; but since Providence and necessity have cast us upon it, I will pray to God for a blessing on your counsels, though I am not prepared to give you any advice on this important occasion. Even I myself," added he, "when I was lately offering up petitions for his majesty's restoration, felt my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and considered this supernatural movement as the answer which Heaven, having rejected the king, had sent to my supplications³⁴!"

Colonel Harrison, the son of a butcher, and the most furious enthusiast in the army, was sent with a strong party to conduct the king to London. All the exterior symbols of sovereignty were now withdrawn; and Charles foresaw that a period would soon be put to his life; yet he could not persuade himself, after all the steps that had been taken, that his enemies really intended to conclude their violences by a *public trial and execution*.—The form of the trial, however, was soon regulated, and the high court of justice, or rather of iniquity, fully constituted. It sat in Westminster-hall, and consisted of Jan. 16. a hundred and thirty-five persons, as named by the commons; but no more than seventy usually attended, and few of these were respectable either in point of birth or of character.—Cromwell, Ireton, Harrison, and other officers of the army, some members of the lower house, and some citizens of London, were the awful judges appointed to try their sovereign.—Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president; Coke, another lawyer, was appointed solicitor for the people of England; and Dorislaus, Steele, and Aske, were named assistants.

Though the king had long been detained a prisoner, and was now produced as a criminal, he still remembered what he owed to himself before such an inferior tribunal, and sustained with composure and magnanimity the majesty of the throne. Being conducted to a chair placed within the bar, he took his seat with his hat on, and surveyed his judges with an air of dignified disdain. The solicitor represented, in the name of the commons, that Charles Stuart, being admitted king of England, and intrusted with a limited power, had nevertheless, from a wicked design of erecting an unlimited and tyrannical government, traitorously and maliciously levied war against the parliament and the people, and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, trai-

³³ Parl. Hist. vol. xviii.

³⁴ Parl. Hist. vol. xviii.

tor, murderer, and an implacable enemy of the state. When the charge was finished, the president directed his discourse to the king, and told him that the court expected his answer.—Charles, with great temper and firmness, declined the authority of the court. Having been engaged in a treaty with the two houses of parliament, and having finished almost every article, he had expected, he said, to be brought to his capital in a different manner, and to be restored to his power, dignity, and revenue, as well as to his personal liberty; that he could now perceive no appearance of the upper house, so essential a part of the constitution; and had learned, that even the commons, whose authority was pleaded, were subdued by lawless force; that the whole authority of the state, though free and united, was not entitled to try him, the hereditary sovereign of the realm; that he acknowledged he had a TRUST committed to him, and one most sacred and inviolable: he was entrusted with the liberties of his people, and would not now betray them, by recognising a power founded on the most atrocious violence and usurpation; that having taken arms, and frequently exposed his life in defence of public liberty, of the constitution, and of the fundamental laws of the kingdom, he was willing, in this last and most solemn scene, to seal with his blood those precious rights, for which, though unsuccessfully, he had struggled so long³⁵. The president contended that the king must not decline the authority of his judges; that they were delegated by the people, the only source of all lawful power; and that kings themselves acted only in trust from that community which had invested this high court of justice with its jurisdiction.

Three times was Charles produced before the court, and as often declined its jurisdiction. On the fourth sitting, when the judges had examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved that the king had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by the parliament, they pronounced sentence against him; adjudging, that he, the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and public enemy, should be put to death, by the severing of his head from his body. Firm and intrepid in all his appearances before his judges, the unfortunate monarch never forgot himself either as a prince or as a man; nor did he discover any emotion at this extraordinary sentence, but seemed to look down, with a mixture of pity and contempt, on all the efforts of human malice and iniquity. Three days were allowed him between his sentence and execution. These he passed in great

³⁵ State Trials, vol. ii.—Rushworth, vol. viii.—Clarendon, vol. v.—Walker's Hist. of Independency.—Ludlow, vol. i.

tranquillity, occupied himself chiefly in reading and devotion, and every night slept as soundly as usual, though the noise of workmen employed in framing the scaffold, and making other preparations for his exit, continually resounded in his ears³⁶.

Charles, though thus oppressed by a rebellious faction, was not suffered to die without the tear of compassion, or the interposition of friendly powers. The people who, in their misguided fury, had before so violently rejected him, now avowed him for their monarch, by their generous sorrow; and they poured forth their prayers for his preservation, notwithstanding the rod of tyranny that hung over them. The French ambassador, by orders from his court, interposed in the king's behalf; the Dutch employed their good offices; the Scots exclaimed and protested against the intended violence, which insultingly pretended to conceal itself under the semblance of law and justice; and the queen and the prince of Wales wrote pathetic letters to the parliament. But all their solicitations were in vain. Nothing could alter the resolutions of men whose ambitious projects seemed to require the blood of their sovereign as a seal.

On the morning of the fatal day, the king rose early, and continued his devotions till noon, assisted by bishop Juxon; Jan. 30. a man whose mild and steady virtues very much resembled those of his sovereign. The street before Whitehall was the place destined for the execution; it being intended, by choosing that place, to display more fully the triumph of popular justice over tyrannical power. And Charles, having taken a slight refreshment of bread and wine, walked through the Banqueting-house to the scaffold, which was covered with black cloth. In the middle of it appeared the block and axe, with two executioners in masques. Several troops of horse and companies of foot were placed around it; and a vast number of spectators waited, in silent horror, at a greater distance. The king eyed these solemn preparations with great composure; and finding that he could not expect to be heard by the people, he addressed himself to the few about his person, but particularly to colonel Tomlinson, to whose care he had been lately committed, and on whom he had wrought an entire conversion. He vindicated himself from the accusation of having commenced war against his parliament. But, although innocent toward his people, he acknowledged the equity of his fate in the eye of Heaven; and observed, that an unjust sentence which he had suffered to take effect upon the earl of Strafford was now punished by an unjust sentence upon himself³⁷. He declared, that he forgave all his

³⁶ Walker's Hist. of Independency.—Bailin Elench. Motuum.—Rushworth.

³⁷ I have observed in a former note, that Charles ought not to have given his assent to the

enemies, even the chief instruments of his death; but exhorted them and the whole nation to return to the ways of peace, by paying obedience to their lawful sovereign, his son and successor³⁸.

These exhortations being finished, the king prepared himself for the block; the prelate in the mean time observing to him, that there was but one stage more between him and heaven, and that, though troublesome, it was short. "I go," said Charles, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can arise."—"You are exchanged," replied the bishop, "from a temporal to an eternal crown: a good exchange!" One of the executioners, at a single blow, severed the king's head from his body; and the other, holding it up, cried aloud, "This is the head of a traitor³⁹!" Grief, terror, and indignation, seized the hearts of the astonished spectators; each of whom seemed to accuse himself either of active disloy-

bill of attainder against Strafford, unless he thought his minister had exceeded his instructions. This solemn expression of remorse proves that the king believed him guiltless. And Strafford's vindication of himself from the *accusation of rigour*, in a letter to an intimate friend, fully justifies the character I have given of him, explains the motives of his conduct, and evinces the necessity of strong measures, as well as their conformity to the will of his master. "I have been represented," said he, "rather as a bashaw of Buda than the minister of a pious and Christian king. Howbeit, if I were not much mistaken in myself, it was quite the contrary. No man could show wherein I had expressed it in my nature; no friend would charge me with it in my private conversation; no creature had found it in the management of my domestic affairs; so if I stood so clear in all these respects, it was to be confessed by any *equal mind* that it was not any thing *within*, but the *necessity of his majesty's service*, which enforced me into a seeming strictness *outwardly*. And that was the reason indeed; for where I found a crown, a church, and a people *spoiled*, I could not imagine to redeem them from under the pressure with gracious smiles and gentle looks. Where a dominion was once gotten and settled, it might be stayed and kept where it was by soft and moderate counsels; but where a *sovereignty* (be it spoken with reverence) was *going down the hill*, the nature of men did so easily *slide* into the paths of uncontrolled liberty, as it would not be brought back without strength, nor be forced up the hill again but by *vigour*. And true it was, I knew no other rule to govern by, but by reward and punishment. If this be sharpness, if this be severity, I desire to be better instructed by his majesty and their lordships;" (this letter being the substance of a speech in the privy council) "for in truth it did not seem so to me. However, if I were once told that his majesty *liked not to be thus served*, I would readily conform myself; follow the bent and current of my own disposition, which is to be quiet. Here his majesty interrupted me, and said, that was no severity; if I served him otherwise, I should not serve him as he expected from me." Strafford's Letters and Despatches, vol. ii.

³⁸ State Trials, vol. ii.—Rushworth, vol. vii.—Whitelocke, p. 375.—Burnet, vol. i.—Herbert's Mem. 117—127.

³⁹ It being remarked that the king, the moment before he stretched out his neck to the executioner, had emphatically pronounced the word REMEMBER! great mysteries were supposed to be concealed under that expression; and the generals insisted that Juxon should inform them of its latent meaning. The bishop told them, that the king, having frequently charged him to inculcate on his son the forgiveness of his murderers, had taken this opportunity of repeating that desire; and his mild spirit thus terminated its present course, by an act of benevolence toward his greatest enemies. Hume, vol. vii.

alty to his murdered sovereign, or of too indolent a defence of his oppressed cause, and to regard himself as an accomplice in this horrid transaction, which had fixed an indelible stain upon the character of the nation, and must expose it to the vengeance of an offended Deity. The same sentiments spread themselves, through the kingdom. The people were overwhelmed with sorrow and confusion, and filled with unrelenting hatred against the assassins of their sovereign. His sufferings, his magnanimity, his patience, his piety, and his christian deportment, seemed to efface all remembrance of his errors ; and, except among the devoted partisans of the murderous faction, nothing was to be heard but lamentations and self-reproaches⁴⁰.

Charles I. was of a middling stature, strong, and well proportioned. His features were regular, and his aspect pleasing, but melancholy. He excelled in horsemanship and other manly exercises. His judgment was sound, his taste elegant, and his general temper moderate. He was a sincere admirer of the fine arts, and a liberal encourager of those who pursued them. As a man, his character was unexceptionable, and even highly exemplary ; in a word, we may say with lord Clarendon, that " he was the worthiest gentleman, the best master, the best friend, the best husband, the best father, and the best Christian in his dominions." But he had the misfortune, as a king, to be educated in high notions of the royal prerogative, which he thought it his duty to support, at a time when his

⁴⁰ This disposition of mind was much heightened by the appearance of the Icon Basiliké, a work published in the king's name a few days after his execution, and containing (beside his prayers in the exercise of his private devotions) meditations or self-conversations, in which the most blameable measures of his government are vindicated or palliated. A performance so full of piety, meekness, and humanity, then believed to be written by the Royal Martyr, as he was called by the friends of the church and monarchy, and published at so critical a time, had wonderful effects upon the nation. It passed rapidly through many editions ; and, independent of all prejudice or partiality, it must be allowed to be a work of merit, especially with regard to style and composition. It was long doubted whether it was the production of Charles, or of Dr. Gauden ; but it is now known to have been chiefly written by the latter. With that performance were published several others, particularly a poem, entitled *Majesty in Misery*, said to have been composed by the king during his confinement in Carisbroke castle. The first lines of this poem are sufficiently remarkable to merit the attention of the historian, as they contain a vindication of Charles's veracity, by way of appeal to an awful Judge, whom he could not hope to deceive.

" Great Monarch of the World, from whose power springs

" The potency and power of kings,

" Record the royal woe, my suffering sings ;

" And teach my tongue, that ever did confine

" Its faculties in Truth's seraphic line,

" To track the Treasons of thy Foes and mine !"

people were little inclined to respect such rights⁴¹; and to be superstitiously devoted to the religion of his country, when the violence of fanaticism was ready to overturn both the church and monarchy. In the convulsion occasioned by these opposite humours and pretensions, he fell beneath the fury of an ambitious faction, a martyr to his principles and the English constitution. Had he acceded more early to the reasonable demands of the commons, he might perhaps have avoided his fate. Yet their furious encroachments on the prerogative, after those demands had been granted, leave it doubtful whether they would, at any time, have been satisfied with equitable concessions, or whether it was possible for Charles, by any line of conduct, to have averted the evils that overtook him, unless he had possessed such vigour and capacity as might have enabled him to crush the rising spirit of liberty; an event which must have proved no less dangerous to the constitution than the victory of the parliament. It is certain, however, that he was too easy in yielding to the opinion of others, and too apt to listen to violent counsels. His abilities, like those of his father, shone more in reasoning than in action; and his virtues as well as his talents were better suited to private than to public life. As he wanted firmness in his regal capacity, he is also reproached with want of sincerity; and to these two defects in his character, more especially to the latter (an imputation from which he cannot be altogether vindicated), the zealous friends of freedom have ascribed the ruin of the royal cause, the triumph of the military despots over the parliament, and the death of Charles. The great body of the commons were surely not enemies to monarchy; but, having no confidence in the king, they thought they could never sufficiently fetter him with limitations. To this idea we may attribute their rigour, and the rise of the civil war. The subsequent events were not within their control.

41 The king's settlements, in regard to government, seem to have been sufficiently moderate before his death. "Give belief to my experience," says he, in a letter to the prince of Wales, "never to affect more greatness or prerogative than what is really and intrinsically for the good of your subjects, not the satisfaction of favourites. If you thus use it, you will never want means to be a father to all, and a bountiful prince to any whom you incline to be extraordinarily gracious to. You may perceive, that all men trust their treasure where it returns them interest; and if a prince, like the sea, receive and repay all the fresh streams which the rivers entrust with him, they will not grudge, but pride themselves to make him up an ocean. These considerations may make you as great a prince as your father is a low one; and your state may be so much the more established, as mine hath been shaken; but our subjects have learned, I dare say, that victories over their princes are but triumphs over themselves; and so will more unwillingly hearken to changes hereafter."—This letter was written soon after the last negotiation with the parliament in the isle of Wight, in 1648.

The death of the king was soon followed by the dissolution of the monarchy. The commons, after having declared it high treason to proclaim or acknowledge Charles Stuart, commonly called *Prince of Wales*, as sovereign of England, voted that kingly power should be abolished, as *unnecessary, burthensome, and dangerous*. They also abolished the house of peers, as *useless and dangerous*; and ordered a new great seal to be made, on one side of which was engraven the date, and on the other they themselves were represented as assembled in parliament, with this inscription: "IN THE FIRST YEAR OF FREEDOM, BY GOD'S BLESSING RESTORED⁴²." It was committed in charge to a certain number of persons, denominated *The Conservators of the Liberties of England*; in whose name all public business was transacted, under the direction of the house of commons. The king's statue in the Exchange was thrown down; and on the pedestal the following words were inscribed: —*Exit Tyrannus; Regum Ultimus*; "The Tyrant, the last of the Kings, is gone⁴³."

We must now, my dear Philip, turn aside to contemplate the affairs of the continent, and take a view of the events that introduced the personal government of Louis XIV., before we carry farther the transactions of England.

⁴² Journal, Jan. 1648-9.

⁴³ Walker's Hist. of Independency.—Clarendon, vol. v

LETTER VIII.

A general View of the European Continent, from the Peace of Westphalia, in 1648, to the Pyrenean Treaty, in 1659, and the Peace of Oliva, in 1660.

THOUGH the peace of Westphalia restored tranquillity to Germany and the North of Europe, war was continued between France and Spain, as I have formerly had occasion to observe¹, and soon broke out among A. D. 1648. the northern-powers. France was, at the same time, distracted by civil broils, though less fatal than those of England,

These broils were fomented by the co-adjutor-archbishop of Paris, afterward the famous cardinal de Retz, so well known by his interesting *Memoirs*, which unfold minutely the latent springs of the intrigues of state, and the principles by which

¹ Part I. Letter LXXVII.

they are governed. This extraordinary man united to the most profligate manners a profound genius and a factious spirit. Conscious of his superior abilities, and jealous of the greatness of Mazarine, whose place of prime minister he thought himself better qualified to fill, he infused the same jealousies into the nobility and the princes of the blood; while he roused the people to sedition, by representing, in the strongest colours, the ignominy of submitting to the oppressive administration of a stranger. Yet that minister had highly contributed to the grandeur of the French monarchy, by the important possessions obtained and secured by the treaty of Munster; nor were the taxes complained of more weighty than the necessities of the state required, or half so burthensome as those which the civil war soon brought upon the kingdom, besides its destructive rage, and the advantage it gave to the Spanish arms.

But although the coadjutor seems not to have been sincerely zealous for the good of his country, such a pretence was necessary to cover his ambitious projects; and, to give a farther sanction to his pretended reformation, he artfully drew the parliament of Paris into his views. Inflamed with the love of power, and stimulated by the insinuations of an intriguing prelate, the parliament boldly set its authority in opposition to that of the court, even before any of the princes of the blood had declared themselves. This was a very extraordinary step; for the parliament of Paris, though a respectable body, was now no more than the first college of justice in the kingdom, the ancient parliaments or national assemblies having been long since abolished, or at least discontinued. But the people, deceived by the name, and allured by the successful usurpations of the English parliament, considered the parliament of Paris as the *Parent of the State*²: and, under its sanction, and that of the archbishop, they thought every violence justifiable against the court; or, as was pretended, against the minister.

Louis XIV. was yet in his minority, and had discovered no symptoms of that ambitious spirit which afterward spread terror over Europe. Anne of Austria, the queen-regent, reposed her whole confidence in cardinal Mazarine; and this minister had hitherto governed the kingdom with prudence and moderation. Incensed, however, to see a body of lawyers, who had purchased their places, studiously oppose that authority by which they were constituted, he ordered the president and one of the most factious counsellors to be arrested, and sent to prison. The populace rose; barricaded the streets; threatened the cardinal

² Voltaire. Siècle de Louis XIV. tome i. chap. iii.

and the queen-regent ; and continued their outrages, till the prisoners were released³.

Thus encouraged by the support of the people, the parliament and the archbishop proceeded in their cabals. The queen-regent could not appear in public without being insulted. She was continually reproached with sacrificing the nation to her friendship for Mazarine ; and ballads and madrigals were sung in every street, to confirm the suspicions entertained of her virtue, or circulate the tale of her amours. In consequence of these disagreeable circumstances, and apprehensions of more serious evils, the queen-regent left Paris, accompanied by her children and her minister, and retired to St. Germain's. Here, if we may credit Voltaire, the distress of the royal A. D. 1649. family was so great, that the jewels of the crown were pawned for a temporary supply of cash : the king himself was often in want of common necessities ; and the pages of his chamber were dismissed because he could not afford them a maintenance⁴.

In the mean time the parliament, by a solemn arrêt, declared cardinal Mazarine a disturber of the public peace, and an enemy to the kingdom. This was the signal of hostility and revolt. A separation of parties took place ; and the prince of Conti, the duke of Longueville, the duke of Beaufort, the duke of Bouillon, and their adherents, instigated by the factious coadjutor, and flattered with the hopes of making the wild proceedings of the parliament subservient to their ambitious views, came and offered their services to that body. Seduced by the example of Paris, other cities, other parliaments, and even provinces, revolted, so as to involve the whole kingdom in confusion. But the conduct of the insurgents was, in general, ludicrous and absurd. Having no distinct aim, they had neither concert nor courage to execute any enterprise of importance ; but wasted their time in vain parade, until the great Condé, who, though dissatisfied with the court, had engaged in the royal cause at the earnest entreaties of the queen regent, threw the capital into an alarm, and dispersed the undisciplined troops of the parliament, with no more than six thousand men. A conference was agreed to, and a treaty concluded at Rouel, by which a general amnesty was granted, and a temporary quiet procured, but without any extinction of hatred on either side⁵.

While the parties remained in such a temper, no solid peace could be expected. The court, however, returned to Paris, and the cardinal was received by the people with expressions of joy and satisfaction. This levity of the French nation, the absurd

³ Mém. de Gui Joli, tome i.

⁴ Siécle, chap. iii.

⁵ Mém. de Mad. de Motteville, tome iii.—Mém. de Gui Joli, tome i.—Mém. du Card. de Retz, tome i.

mixture of a frivolous gallantry with the intrigues of state, with plots and conspiracies, and the influence which the duchess of Longueville and other libertine women had, in making the most eminent leaders several times change sides, have induced philosophical writers to consider these contemptible wars with greater attention than they would otherwise have claimed.

A fresh instance of that levity was soon displayed. The prince of Condé, always the prey of a restless ambition, presuming on his great services, and setting no bounds to his pretensions, repeatedly insulted the queen and the cardinal. He also, by his haughtiness, disgusted the coadjutor, and entered into cabals against the court with other factious leaders. By the advice of this intriguing prelate, Condé was arrested at the council-table, with the prince of Conti and the duke of Longueville, the very heads of the malcontents; and the citizens of Paris, with bonfires and public rejoicings, celebrated the imprisonment of those turbulent spirits, whom they had lately adored as their deliverers⁶.

But the triumph of the minister was of short duration. The imprisonment of the princes roused their partisans to arms in every province of the realm; and the duke of Orléans, the young king's uncle, whom the cardinal had slighted, became the head of the malcontents. Mazarine, after setting the princes at liberty, in hopes of conciliating their favour, was obliged to fly first to Liege, and then to Cologne; where he continued to govern the queen-regent, as if he had never quitted the court. By his intrigues, assisted by the coadjutor, who, though he had been deeply concerned in these new disturbances, was again dissatisfied with his party, the duke of Bouillon and his brother Turenne were detached from the malcontents. Mazarine re-entered the kingdom, escorted by six thousand men. Condé once more flew to arms; and the parliament declared him guilty of high-treason, nearly at the same time that it set a price upon the head of the cardinal, against whom only he had taken the field⁷!

The great, but inconsistent Condé, in this extremity of his fortune, threw himself upon the protection of Spain; and, after pursuing the cardinal and the court from province to province, he entered Paris with a body of Spanish troops. The people were filled with admiration of his valour, and the parliament was struck with awe. In the mean time Turenne, who, by his masterly retreats, had often saved the king when his escape seemed impracticable, now conducted him within sight of his capital; and Louis witnessed a fierce conflict

6 *Mém. du Card. de Retz*, tome i.—*Mém. du Comte de Brienne*, tome iii.

7 *Voltaire*, *Siecle de Louis XIV.* chap. iv.

in the suburb of St. Antoine, where the two greatest generals in France performed wonders at the head of a few men. The duke of Orléans, being doubtful what conduct to pursue, remained in his palace, as did the coadjutor-archbishop, now cardinal de Retz. The parliament waited the event of the battle before it published any decree. The people, equally afraid of the troops of both parties, had shut the city gates, and would suffer nobody either to go in or out. The combat long remained suspended, and many gallant noblemen were killed or wounded. At last it was decided in favour of the prince of Condé, by a striking exertion of female intrepidity. The daughter of the duke of Orléans, more resolute than her father, had the boldness to order the cannon of the Bastile to be fired upon the king's troops, and Turenne was obliged to retire⁸. "These cannon have killed her husband!" said Mazarine, when informed of that circumstance, knowing how ambitious she was of being married to a crowned head, and that she hoped to be queen of France⁹.

Encouraged by this success, the parliament declared the duke of Orléans *Lieutenant General of the Kingdom*; and the prince of Condé was styled *Commander-in-Chief of the Armies of France*. These new dignities, however, were of short duration. A popular tumult, in which several citizens were killed, and of which the prince of Condé was supposed to be the author, obliged him to quit Paris, where he found his credit rapidly declining; and the king, in order to appease his subjects, dismissed Mazarine, who retired to Sedan. A. D. 1653.

That measure had the desired effect. The people every where returned to their allegiance; and Louis entered his capital, amid the acclamations of persons of all ranks. The duke of Orléans was banished from the court, and cardinal de Retz committed to prison. Condé, being condemned to lose his head, continued his unhappy engagements with Spain. The parliament was humbled, and Mazarine recalled;¹⁰ when, finding his power more firmly established than ever, the subtle Italian, in the exultation of his heart at the general homage that was paid to him, looked down with an eye of contempt on the levity of the French, and resolved to make them feel the pressure of his administration, of which they had formerly complained without reason. A. D. 1655.

During these absurd and pernicious wars, which for several years distracted France, the Spaniards, though feeble, were not altogether inactive. They had recovered Barcelona, after a tedious siege: they had taken Casal from the duke of Savoy, and attached the duke of Mantua to their interest, by restoring that

⁸ Mém. de Mad. Motteville, tome v.—Mém. de Gui Joli, tome ii.

⁹ Voltaire, Siècle, chap. iv.

¹⁰ Id. Ibid.

place to him : they had reduced Gravelines, and again made themselves masters of Dunkirk. But Louis XIV. being now in full possession of his kingdom, and Turenne opposed to Condé, the face of affairs was soon changed, in spite of the utmost efforts of don Louis de Haro (nephew to the late minister Olivarrez), who governed Spain and Philip IV. with as absolute an ascendant as Mazarine did France and her young king.

The first event that gave a turn to the war was the relief of Arras. The siege of this city was undertaken by the prince of Condé, the archduke Leopold, and the count de Fuensaldagna, and pressed with great vigour. The *maréchals* Turenne and de la Ferté, who had formed the siege of Stenay, a place strong and well defended, came and encamped in the neighbourhood of the Spaniards, and tried every method to oblige them to abandon their enterprise, but without effect. At length Stenay surrendered, and another division of the French army, under the *maréchal* d'Hoquincourt, joined Turenne, who contrary to the opinion of his principal officers, resolved to assault the Spanish lines. This he performed with great success, and seized the

baggage, artillery, and ammunition of the enemy¹¹.
A. D. 1656. Condé, however, gained no less honour than his rival. After defeating d'Hoquincourt, and repelling de la Ferté, he retreated gloriously himself, by covering the flight of the vanquished Spaniards, and saving the shattered remains of their army. "I am informed," said Philip, in his letter of acknowledgment to the prince, "that every thing was lost, and that you have recovered every thing¹²."

This success, which Mazarine vainly ascribed to himself, because he and the king were, at the time, within a few leagues of Arras, was nearly balanced by the relief of Valenciennes, where fortune shifted sides, and taught the prince's victorious competitor to seek, in his turn, the honours of war in a retreat. The siege of that place had been undertaken by Turenne and de la Ferté, with an army of twenty thousand men. The lines were completed, and the operations in great forwardness, when the prince of Condé and don John of Austria, Philip's natural son, advanced with an equal if not superior army, and forced, in the night, the lines of the quarter where de la Ferté commanded. Turenne flew to his assistance, but all his valour and conduct were not sufficient to restore the battle. He carried off his artillery and baggage, however, unmolested ; and even halted, on the approach of the enemy, as if he had been desirous of renewing the combat. Astonished at his cool intrepidity, the Spaniards did not dare to attack him. He continued his march ; and took

¹¹ Hist. du Vicomte de Turenne, tome iv

¹² Voltaire, Siècle, chap. v.

Capelle, in sight of don John and the prince¹³. It was this talent of at once inspiring confidence into his troops, and intimidating his enemies by the boldness of his enterprises, that made Turenne superior to any general of his age. Conscious that his force would be estimated by the magnitude of his undertakings, after he had acquired the reputation of prudence, he conquered no less by his knowledge of human nature, than of the art of war; and he had the singular good fortune to escape the most imminent dangers by seeming to be above them.

Thus for a time the balance was kept almost even between France and Spain, by the address of two able ministers, and the operations of two great generals. But when the crafty Mazarine, by sacrificing to the pride of Cromwell, had drawn England to the assistance of France, Spain was no longer able to maintain the contest. Dunkirk, the most important A. D. 1658. fortress in Flanders, was the first object of their united efforts. Twenty English ships blocked up the harbour, while a French army under Turenne, and six thousand English veterans, besieged the town by land. The prince of Condé, and don John came to its relief: Turenne led out his army to give them battle: and by the obstinate valour of the English, and the impetuosity of the French troops, the Spaniards were totally defeated near the Downs. Dunkirk surrendered ten days after, and was delivered to the English according to treaty. Furnes, Dixmude, Oudenarde, Ypres, and Gravelines, also submitted to the arms of France¹⁴: and Spain saw the necessity of suing for peace.

One great object of Mazarine's policy was, to obtain for the house of Bourbon the eventual succession to the Spanish monarchy. With this view he had formerly proffered peace to Philip, by proposing a marriage between Louis and the infanta Maria Theresa. But, as the king of Spain had then only one son, whose unhealthy infancy rendered his life precarious, the proposal was rejected, lest the infanta, who might probably become heiress to the Spanish dominions, should carry her right into the house of an enemy. That obstacle, however, was now removed. The king of Spain had a son by a second wife, and the queen was again pregnant. It was therefore agreed, that the infanta should be given to young Louis, in order to procure peace to the exhausted monarchy; and the A. D. 1659. better to settle the preliminaries of a treaty, Mazarine and don Louis de Haro met on the frontiers of both kingdoms, in the isle of Pheasants in the Pyrenées. There, after

¹³ La Vie de Turenne, p. 296.—Henault, Hist. Chronol. de France, tome ii.—Voltaire, Siècle, chap. 5.

¹⁴ Id. ibid.

Nov. 7. many conferences and much ceremony, all points were adjusted to the satisfaction of both parties. Philip agreed to pardon the rebellious Catalans, and Louis to receive Condé into favour; Spain renounced all pretensions to Alsace; and the long-disputed succession of Juliers was granted to the duke of Neuburg¹⁵.

In little more than a year from the conclusion of this important treaty died cardinal Mazarine, and left the reins of government to Louis, who had become impatient 1661, N. S. of a yoke which he was afraid to shake off. Few historians have done justice to the character of this accomplished statesman, whose political caution restrained the vigour of his spirit, and the lustre of whose genius was concealed beneath his profound dissimulation. If his schemes were less comprehensive, or his enterprises less bold than those of Richelieu, they were less extravagant¹⁶. He has been accused of avarice, and seemingly with justice; yet if we reflect that, being an indigent foreigner himself, he married seven nieces to French noblemen of the first distinction, and left his nephew duke of Nevers, we shall perhaps be inclined in some measure to forgive him. So many matches could not be formed without money:—and the pride of raising one's family is no contemptible passion. He had the extraordinary honour of extending the limits of the French monarchy, while France was distracted by intestine hostilities; and of twice restoring peace to the greater part of Europe, after two of the longest and most bloody wars it had ever known. Nor must we forget his attention to the Spanish succession, which has since rendered the house of Bourbon so formidable to its neighbours, and is a striking proof of his political foresight. His leading maxim was, that force ought never to be employed but in default of other means; and his perfect knowledge of mankind, the most essential of all mental acquisitions for a minister, frequently enabled him to accomplish his views without it. When it was absolutely necessary, we have seen him employ it with effect.

¹⁵ Voltaire, ubi sup.—Daniel, tome v.

¹⁶ Voltaire has placed the talents of these two ministers in a just point of view, by applying them to the same object, with a less worthy associate, in order to make the illustration more perfect. “If, for example,” says he, “the subjection of Rochelle had been undertaken by such a genius as Caesar Borgia, he would, under the sanction of the most sacred oaths, have drawn the principal inhabitants into his camp, and there have put them to death. Mazarine would have gained possession of the place two or three years later, by corrupting the magistrates, and sowing discord among the citizens. Cardinal Richelieu, in imitation of Alexander the Great, had a boom across the harbour, and entered Rochelle as a conqueror; but had the sea been a little more turbulent, or the English a little more diligent, Rochelle might have been saved, and Richelieu called a rash and inconsiderate projector.” *Siècle*, tome i.

The affairs of Germany, Poland, and the northern crowns, now claim our attention.

The tranquillity which the peace of Westphalia had restored to Germany continued unmolested till the death of Ferdinand III. in 1657, when an interregnum of five months ensued, and the diet was violently agitated in regard to the choice of a successor. At last however, his son Leopold was raised to the imperial throne; for, although jealousies prevailed among some of the electors, on account of the ambition of the house of Austria, the majority were convinced of the propriety of such a choice, in order to prevent more alarming dangers. While the Turks remained masters of Buda, the French in possession of Alsace, and the Swedes of Pomerania, a powerful emperor seemed necessary¹⁷.

The first measure of Leopold's reign was the completion of an alliance, which his father had begun, with Poland and Denmark, in opposition to Sweden. But we shall have occasion to notice the events to which this alliance gave birth, in tracing the history of the northern kingdoms.

Sweden had been raised to the highest pitch of military reputation by the victories of Gustavus Adolphus, who was considered as the champion of the Protestant cause; but who gratified his own ambition and love of glory, at the same time that he protected the liberties of Germany, which only his immature death perhaps prevented him from overturning. And his daughter Christina, equally ambitious of fame, though not in the camp or in the cabinet, immortalized her reign by her patronage of learning and the polite arts. She drew to her court Grotius, Vossius, Des Cartes, and other eminent men, whom she liberally rewarded. But her studies in general were too antiquated and abstract to give lustre to her character as a woman; and, by occupying too great a share of her attention, they were injurious to her reputation as a queen. She acceded to the peace of Westphalia, as I before hinted, from a desire of indulging her passion for study, rather than out of any regard to the happiness of Sweden or the repose of Europe. "That peace lightened the cares of government; but they were still too weighty for Christina. "I think I see the devil!" said she, "when my secretary enters with his despatches¹⁸."

In order to enable the queen to pursue her literary amusements, without disadvantage to the state, the senate of Sweden proposed, that she should marry her cousin Charles Gustavus, for whom she had been designed from her infancy. But although this prince appears to have been a favourite, and Christina's conduct proves that she was by no means insensible to

the passion of the sexes, yet, like our Elizabeth, she did not choose to give herself a master. She prevailed A. D. 1650. upon the states, however, to declare Charles her successor; a measure by which she kept herself at liberty, secured the tranquillity of Sweden, and repressed the ambition of those powerful nobles who, in case of her death, might otherwise have offered pretensions to the crown.

Yet the Swedes, among whom refinement had made little progress, but whose martial spirit was now at its height, and among whom policy was well understood, could not bear to see the daughter of the great Gustavus devote her time and her talents solely to the study of dead languages; to the disputes about vortexes, innate ideas, and other unavailing speculations: to a taste for medals, statues, pictures, and public spectacles, in contempt of the nobler cares of royalty. And they were still more displeased to find the resources of the kingdom exhausted in what they considered as inglorious pursuits and childish amusements. A general discontent arose; and Christina was again pressed to marry. The disgust occasioned by this importunity first suggested to her the idea of quitting the throne. She accordingly signified, in a letter to Charles Gustavus, A. D. 1652. her intention of resigning her crown to him in full senate.

Charles, trained in dissimulation, and fearing that the queen had laid a snare for him, rejected her proposal, and prayed that God and Sweden might long preserve her majesty. Perhaps he flattered himself, that the senate would accept her resignation, and appoint him to the government, in recompense for his modesty; but he was deceived, if these were his expectations. The senate and the chief officers of state, headed by the chancellor Oxenstiern, waited upon the queen. And whether Christina had a mind to alarm her discontented subjects, and establish herself more firmly on the throne by pretending to desert it, or whatever else might be her motive for resigning; in a word, whether having renounced the crown out of vanity, which dictated most of her actions, she was disposed to resume it out of caprice; she submitted, or pretended to submit, to the importunity of her subjects and successor, and consented to reign, on condition that she should be no more pressed to marry¹⁹.

Finding it impossible, however, to reconcile her literary pursuits, or more properly her love of ease and her romantic turn of mind, with the duties of her station, Christina finally resigned June, 1654. her crown, when she was in the twenty-ninth year of her age; and Charles Gustavus ascended the throne of Sweden, under the name of Charles X. After despoiling

¹⁹ Pufend. lib. vi.—Archenholtz, tome i,

the palace of every thing curious or valuable, she left her capital and her kingdom, as the abodes of ignorance and barbarism, she passed through Germany in the dress of a man; and, intending to fix her residence at Rome, that she might have opportunities of contemplating the precious remains of antiquity, she embraced the Catholic religion at Brussels, and solemnly renounced Lutheranism at Inspruck²⁰. The Catholics considered this conversion as a great triumph, and the Protestants were not a little mortified at the defection of so celebrated a woman; but both without reason; for the queen of Sweden, who had an equal contempt for the peculiarities of the two religions, meant only to conform, in appearance, to the tenets of the people among whom she intended to live, in order to enjoy more agreeably the pleasures of social intercourse.

But Christina, like most sovereigns who have quitted a throne in order to escape from the cares of royalty, found herself no less uneasy in private life: so true it is, that happiness depends on the mind, not on the condition! She soon discovered, that a queen without power was a very insignificant character in Italy, and is supposed to have repented of her resignation. However that may be, she certainly became weary of her situation, and made two journeys into France; where she was received with much respect by the learned, whom she had pensioned and flattered, but with little attention by the polite, especially of her own sex. Her masculine air and libertine conversation kept women of delicacy at a distance. Nor does she seem to have desired their acquaintance; for when, A.D. 1656. on her first appearance, some ladies were eager to pay their civilities to her, "What," said she, "makes these women so fond of me? Is it because I am so like a man?" The celebrated Ninon de l'Enclos, whose wit and beauty gave her the power of pleasing to the most advanced age, and who was no less distinguished by the multiplicity of her amours than the singularity of her manner of thinking, was the only woman in France whom Christina honoured with any particular marks of her esteem²¹. She loved the free conversation of men; or of women, who, like herself, were above vulgar restraints.

The modest women in France, however, repaid Christina's contempt with ridicule. And happy had it been for her character, had she never excited, in the mind of either sex, a more disagreeable emotion; but that was soon succeeded by those of detestation and horror. As if not only sovereignty but despotism had been attached to her person, in a fit of libidinous jealousy she ordered Monaldeschi, her favourite, to be D. A. 1657. assassinated in the great gallery of Fontainebleau,

²⁰ Mém. de Christine.²¹ Mém. de Christine.

and almost in her own presence²². Yet the woman who thus terminated an amour by a murder did not want her apologists among the learned : and this atrocious violation of the law of nature and nations, in an enlightened age, and in the heart of a civilized kingdom, was allowed to pass, not only without punishment, but without enquiry !

Christina found it necessary, however, to leave France, where she was now justly held in abhorrence. She therefore returned to Rome, where, under the wing of the vicar of Christ, the greatest criminals find shelter and consolation ; and where the queen of Sweden, a dupe to vanity and caprice, spent the remainder of her life, in sensual indulgences and literary conversations, with cardinal Azzolini, and other members of the sacred college ; in admiring many things for which she had no taste, and in talking about more which she did not understand.

While Christina was thus rambling over Europe and amusing herself in a manner as unworthy of her former character as of the daughter of the great Gustavus, Charles X. was indulging the martial spirit of the Swedes, by the conquest of Poland. When I last treated of the affairs of that country, I informed you of the armistice concluded by the Swedish court with Sigismund III. who dying in the year 1632, was succeeded by his son Ladislaus, a prince of courage and capacity. The Russians having violated the peace with Poland, the new king acted with such spirit, that the czar Michael was humbled into forbearance. The Turks, being guilty of a similar breach of their engagements, were chastised by a considerable defeat ; and Morad IV. was constrained to accept the terms imposed by the victor. Without the hazard of actual war, Ladislaus procured from the Swedes a restitution of the conquests of the great Gustavus in Prussia. He imprudently concurred with the senate in the oppression of the Cossacks, who, though they were reduced to submission by the efforts of the Polanders, were not deterred from a general revolt. He left the state thus embroiled when he died in 1648. His brother and successor, John Casimir, was unwilling to continue the war against the Cossacks ; but the nobles insisted on its prosecution, and again led their vassals into the field, without securing the honours of triumph. Though a treaty was concluded with the revolters in 1649, the war was soon renewed ; and the Tartars engaged in it as the allies of the Cossacks. The king defeated, with great slaughter, a very numerous army of his Tartarian foes ; and the fame of the victory produced the dispersion of the Cossack host. The late pacification was then outwardly confirmed : but Casimir was not destined to enjoy long tranquility²³.

²² D'Alembert.

²³ Pufendorf. Heidenst.

Alexis, who (in 1646) had succeeded his father Michael on the Russian throne; was prompted by ambition to the advantage of the dissensions between Casimir and the nobles, and the unsubdued spirit of the Cossacks. His troops, with the aid of the latter, reduced Smolensko, in 1654, after a long siege; took Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, and ravaged that duchy with execrable inhumanity.

While Poland was thus harassed, the enterprising king of Sweden rushed into the country at the head of a powerful army, received the ready submission of the inhabitants of many of the towns, obtained two victories in the field, made himself master of Cracow, and drove the terrified Casimir into Silesia. The provincial governors now transferred their allegiance to the invader; and he acted for a time as sovereign of Poland. But his arms met with an effectual check in Polish Prussia; for, though most of the towns of that territory submitted to him, the burghers of Dantzic manifested an intrepid spirit of resistance, and promoted, by their bold example, a general association among the Poles to shake off the Swedish yoke. The elector of Brandenburg (whose family had possessed Ducal Prussia from the year 1520,) at first co-operated with the Swedes, and assisted at the siege of Warsaw; and his name deserves a share of the infamy attached to the cruel massacre perpetrated at the reduction of that city. But he afterward joined Casimir against Charles X.; the czar also turned his arms against a prince who had excited his jealousy; the emperor Leopold espoused the same cause; and Frederic III. of Denmark took arms against his aspiring and formidable neighbour²⁴.

Not dismayed by the number and the power of his adversaries, Charles led an army over the ice to Funen, reduced that and other Danish islands, and was preparing to besiege Copenhagen, when Frederick, intimidated by the progress of the enemy, sued for peace, which he obtained on unfavourable terms. This agreement, however (called the treaty of Roschild,) was quickly violated by the suspicions of the Swedish monarch, who, imagining that the Danes would soon renew hostilities, formed in 1658 the siege of Copenhagen. He was on the point of reducing it, when it was relieved by a fleet sent from Holland; and, in the following year, it was saved by the joint interference of that republic and the English protector. While negotiations were on foot, Charles died of an epidemic fever, A. D. 1660. with the character of a prince too active and ambitious for the peace of Europe.

²⁴ *Histoire des Révolutions de Pologne, par l'Abbé des Fontaines.—Pufendorff.*

Before the death of the Swedish potentate, a truce had been concluded between him and Alexis, who had not been very successful against him ; and Casimir had recovered a considerable part of Poland. He regained the rest by the treaty of Oliva, to which the states and the regency of Sweden readily agreed ; and that the minority of Charles XI. might not be disturbed by foreign war, a pacification was adjusted with Denmark and other powers.

We must now, my dear Philip, return to the transactions of England, which had become powerful under a republican government, and, during the latter part of the period that we have been reviewing, diffused through Europe the terror of its name.

LETTER IX.

History of the Commonwealth of England to the Death of Oliver Cromwell ; with an Account of the Affairs of Scotland, Ireland, and Holland.

THE progress of Cromwell's ambition is an object worthy of the consideration of a philosophic mind. No sooner was the monarchy abolished than he began seriously to aspire after—what Charles had lost his head for being suspected to aim at—*absolute sovereignty*. But many bars were yet in his way, and much blood was to be spilled, before he could reach that enormous height, or the commonwealth could attain the quiet government of the three kingdoms.

After the dissolution of that civil and religious constitution under which the nation had for many centuries been governed, England was divided into a variety of sects and factions, some of which were dissatisfied with the ruling powers, and longed for the restoration of monarchy. But these were over-awed by an army of fifty thousand men, by which the republican and independent faction was supported, and of which Cromwell was the soul. The commonwealth parliament, as the inconsiderable part of the house of commons that remained was called, finding every thing composed into seeming tranquillity by the terror of its arms, began to assume more the air of legal authority, and to enlarge a little the narrow foundation on which it stood, by admitting, under certain conditions, such of the excluded members as were liable to least exception. A council of state was

also named, consisting of thirty-eight persons, to whom all addresses were made; who gave orders to all generals and admirals; who executed the laws, and who digested all business before it was introduced into parliament¹. Among these counsellors were several peers, whose dignity added weight to the government; particularly the earls of Denbigh, Mulgrave, Pembroke, and Salisbury.

But although the force of the army kept every thing quiet in England, and the situation of foreign powers, as well as the indigent and neglected condition of the prince, (who had now assumed the title of Charles II. and lived sometimes in Holland, sometimes in France, and sometimes in Jersey, an island which still retained its allegiance to the crown) preserved the parliament from all apprehensions from abroad, the state of parties in Scotland and Ireland filled the new republic with no small uneasiness.

The Scottish covenanters, who had begun the troubles, and who bore little affection to the royal family, but who had, notwithstanding, protested against the execution of the king and of the duke of Hamilton, who was also brought to the block, now rejected the proposition of the English parliament, to mould their government into a republican form. They resolved still to adhere to monarchy, which had ever prevailed in their country; and which, by the express terms of the covenant, they had engaged to defend. They therefore declared young Charles king of Scotland; but expressly on condition “of his good behaviour and strict observance of the covenant, and of his entertaining no other persons about him but such as were godly men, and faithful to that obligation².” Clauses so unusual, inserted in the first acknowledgment of their prince, showed their intention of limiting extremely his authority; so that the English parliament, foreseeing the disputes that would arise between the parties, and having no decent pretext for interfering in the affairs of Scotland, left the covenanters to settle their government according to their own mind.

The dominion which England claimed over Ireland interested the commonwealth more immediately in the concerns of that island, where the royal cause still wore a favourable aspect. In order to understand this matter fully, it will be necessary to take a retrospective view of Irish affairs.

We have already seen how the leaders of the parliament attempted to blacken the character of the late king, for concluding, in 1643, that cessation of arms with the popish rebels, which he had reason to think necessary for the security of the Irish Protestants, as well as requisite for promoting his interest

¹ Parl. Hist. vol. xix.

² Burnet.—Whitelocke.

in England. They even went so far as to declare it invalid, because it was adjusted without their consent: and to this declaration the Scots in Ulster, and the earl of Inchiquin, a nobleman of great authority in Munster, professed to adhere. The war was, therefore, still kept alive. But as the hostilities in England prevented the parliament from sending any considerable assistance to its allies in Ireland, Inchiquin concluded an accommodation with the marquis of Ormond, whom the king had created lord-lieutenant of that kingdom.

Ormond, who was a native of Ireland, and a man of virtue and prudence, now formed a scheme for composing the disorders of his country, and engaging the Irish rebels to support the royal cause. In this he was assisted by the progress of the arms of the English parliament, from whose fanatical zeal the Irish Catholics knew they could expect no mercy. The council of Kilkenny, composed of deputies from all the Catholic counties and cities, accordingly concluded, in 1646, a treaty of peace with the lord-lieutenant, by which they engaged to return to their duty and allegiance, and to furnish ten thousand men for the support of the king's authority in England, in consideration of a general pardon for their rebellion, and the free exercise of their religion³.

This treaty, so advantageous and even necessary to both parties, was rendered ineffectual through the intrigues of an Italian priest, named Rinuccini, whom the pope sent over to Ireland in the character of nuncio; and who, foreseeing that a general pacification with the lord-lieutenant would put an end to his own influence, summoned an assembly of the clergy at Waterford, and engaged them to declare against the peace which the civil council had concluded. He then thundered out a sentence of excommunication against all who should adhere to a treaty so prejudicial, as he pretended, to the Catholic faith: and the ignorant and bigoted Irish, terrified at these spiritual menaces, renounced their civil engagements, and submitted to the nuncio's authority. Ormond, who was not prepared against such a revolution in the sentiments of his countrymen, was obliged to shelter his small army in Dublin, and the other fortified towns, which still remained in the hands of the Protestants.

Charles, who was then involved in the greatest distress, sent orders to the lord-lieutenant, if he could not defend himself, rather to submit to the English than the Irish rebels; and Ormond accordingly delivered up, in 1647, Dublin, Drogheda, Dundalk, and other garisons, to colonel Michael Jones, who took possession of them in the name of the English parliament⁴. He himself went over to England, received a grateful acknow-

³ Carte's *Life of the Duke of Ormond*.

⁴ *Id. ibid.*

ledgment of his past services from his royal master, and lived for some time in tranquillity near London ; but finding every thing turn out unhappily for his beloved sovereign, and foreseeing that awful catastrophe which afterwards overtook him, he retired to France, and there joined the queen and prince of Wales.

During these transactions, the nuncio's authority was universally acknowledged among the Catholics in Ireland. By his insolence and indiscretion, however, he soon made them repent of their bigoted confidence, in entrusting him with so much power: and all prudent men became sensible of the necessity of supporting the declining authority of the king, to preserve the Irish nation from that destruction with which it was threatened by the English parliament. A combination for this purpose was formed, in 1648, among the Catholics, by the earl of Clanricarde ; a nobleman of an ancient family, who had ever preserved his loyalty. He attacked the nuncio, and chased him out of the island ; and then sent a deputation to the lord-lieutenant, inviting him to return, and take possession of his government.

Ormond, on his arrival in Ireland, found that kingdom divided into many factions, among which either open war or secret enmity prevailed. And the authority of the English parliament was still established in Dublin, and the other towns which he himself had delivered up. He did not, however, let slip the opportunity, though less favourable than could have been wished, of promoting the royal cause. Having collected, by his indefatigable diligence, in spite of every obstacle, an army of sixteen thousand men, he advanced upon the parliamentary garrisons, which had been totally neglected by the rulers of the nation, while employed in the trial and execution of their sovereign. Dundalk, where Monk commanded, was delivered up by the troops, who mutinied against their governor : Drogheda, Newry, and other places, were taken: Dublin itself was threatened with a siege; and the affairs of the lord-lieutenant wore so favourable an aspect, that the young king entertained thoughts of going in person to Ireland⁵. But his hopes were soon extinguished in that quarter.

The English commonwealth was no sooner established than Ireland became the object of its peculiar attention ; and much intrigue was employed by the leading men, in order to procure the government of that island. Lambert expected to obtain it. But Cromwell, who considered Ireland as a new field of glory, as well as a theatre where his ambition might expand itself without exciting jealousy, had the address to procure the appointment of lord lieutenant from the council of state, without seeming to desire such an office. He immediately sent over a rein-

5 Carte's Life of Ormond.

forcement of four thousand men to colonel Jones ; and, after suppressing a second mutiny of the Levellers, and punishing the ringleaders, he himself embarked with a body of twelve thousand excellent soldiers⁶.

In the mean time an event took place that rendered the success of the new lord-lieutenant infallible. Ormond having passed the river Liffy, at the head of the royal army, and taken post at Rathmines, with a view of commencing the siege of Dublin, had begun the reparation of an old fort, which stood near the gates of the city, and was well calculated for cutting off supplies from the garrison. Being exhausted with fatigue, in superintending this labour, he retired to rest, after giving orders to keep his forces under arms. But he was suddenly awakened by the noise of firing, and found all things in tumult and confusion. The officers had neglected Ormond's orders. Jones, observing their want of caution, had sallied out with the late reinforcement : and having thrown the royalists into disorder, totally routed them, in spite of all the efforts of the marquis. He took their tents, baggage, and ammunition, and returned victorious into the city, after killing three thousand men, and capturing two thousand⁷.

Soon after this signal victory, which reflected so much honour upon colonel Jones, which tarnished the military reputation of Ormond, and ruined the royal cause in Ireland, Cromwell arrived at Dublin, to complete the conquest of that kingdom. He suddenly marched to Drogheda, which was well fortified, and into which Ormond, foreseeing that it would be first invested, had thrown a garrison of three thousand men, under sir Arthur Aston, an officer of tried courage. A breach being soon made in the fortifications, Cromwell ordered an assault. Though twice repulsed with loss, he renewed the attack ; and the furious valour of his troops at length bearing down all resistance, the place was entered sword in hand, and a cruel massacre made of the garrison. Even those who escaped the general slaughter, and whom the unfeeling hearts of the fanatical soldiery had spared, were murdered the next day, by orders from the English commander, one person alone escaping, to bear the mournful tidings to Ormond⁸.

By this severe execution of military justice, Cromwell pretended to retaliate the cruelties of the Irish massacre. But as he well knew that the garrison of Drogheda consisted chiefly of Englishmen, his real purpose evidently was to strike a terror into the other garrisons : and his inhuman policy had the desired effect. When he had conducted his army to Wexford, the

6 Whitelocke.—Ludlow.

7 Ludlow, vol. i.—Borlase, p. 222. fol. edit.

8 Clute's Life of Ormond.—Ludlow's Mem.

garrison offered to capitulate, after a slight resistance. But this submission did not check the violence of the besiegers. The royalists had imprudently neglected their defence, before they obtained a formal cessation of arms; and the English fanatics, now fleshed in blood, rushed in upon them, and executed the same slaughter as at Drogheda. Henceforth every town, before which Cromwell presented himself, opened its gates on the first summons. He had no farther difficulties to encounter but what arose from fatigue and the declining season. Fluxes and contagious distempers crept amongst his soldiers, who died in great numbers; and he had advanced so far with his decayed army, that he found it difficult either to subsist in the enemy's country, or to retreat to the parliamentary garrisons. His situation was truly perilous.

But Cromwell's good fortune soon relieved him from his distress. Cork, Kinsale, and all the English garrisons in Munster, resolved to share the glory of their countrymen, deserted to him in that extremity, and opened their gates for the reception of his sickly troops. This desertion put an end to Ormond's authority. The Irish, at all times disorderly, could no longer be kept in obedience by a Protestant governor, whom their priests represented as the cause of all their calamities. Seeing affairs so desperate as to admit of no remedy, the marquis left the island; and Cromwell, acquainted with the influence of religious prejudices, politically freed himself from all farther opposition, by permitting the Irish officers and soldiers to engage in foreign service. Above forty thousand Catholics are said to have embraced this voluntary banishment.

These unexpected events, which blasted all the hopes of the young king from Ireland, induced him to listen to the offers of the Scottish covenanters, and appoint a meeting with their commissioners at Breda. These deputies had no power of treating. Charles was required to submit, without reserve, to the most ignominious terms ever imposed by a people upon their prince. They insisted, that he should issue a proclamation, banishing from court all excommunicated persons; or in other words, all who, under Hamilton and Montrose, had ventured their lives for his family: that no English subject, who had served against the parliament, should be allowed to approach him; that he should bind himself by his royal promise to take the covenant; that he should ratify all acts of parliament by which presbyterian discipline and worship were established; and that, in all civil affairs, he should conform himself to the direction of the parliament, and, in ecclesiastical, to that of the general assembly of the kirk.

Most of the king's English counsellors dissuaded him from acceding to such dishonourable conditions. Nothing, they said, could be more disgraceful than to sacrifice, for the empty name of royalty, those principles for which his father died a martyr, and in which he himself had been strictly educated; A. D. 1650. that by such hypocrisy he would lose the royalists in both kingdoms, who alone were sincerely attached to him, but could never gain the presbyterians, who would ascribe his compliance merely to policy and necessity. But these sound arguments were ridiculed by the young duke of Buckingham, afterwards so remarkable for the pleasantry of his humour and the versatility of his character, and who was now in high favour with Charles. Being a man of no principle, the duke treated with contempt the idea of rejecting a kingdom for the sake of episcopacy; and he made no scruple to assert, that the obstinacy of the late king, on the article of religion, ought rather to be held up as a warning, than produced as an example for his son's imitation⁹. Charles, whose principles were nearly as libertine as those of Buckingham, and of whose character sincerity formed no part, agreed to every thing demanded of him by the covenanters, but not before he had received intelligence of the utter failure of his hopes from the Scottish royalists, in consequence of the total defeat and capture of the marquis of Montrose.

That gallant nobleman, having laid down his arms at the command of the late king, had retired to the continent, where he resided some time inactive, and afterward entered into the imperial service. But no sooner did he hear of the tragical death of his sovereign, than his ardent spirit was inflamed with the thirst of revenge; and having obtained from young Charles a renewal of his commission of captain-general in Scotland, he set sail for that country with five hundred foreign adventurers. Naturally confident, he hoped to rouse the royalists to arms, and restore his master's authority, at least in one of his kingdoms. These expectations, however, were ill-founded. Scotland was wholly under the dominion of Montrose's old enemies, Argyle and the covenanters, who had severely punished many of his former adherents. They were apprised of his design; and they had a disciplined army ready to oppose him, of such a force as left him no reasonable prospect of success. By a detachment from his army, Montrose and the few royalists who had joined him were attacked, and totally routed. They were all either killed or made prisoners; the marquis himself, who had put on the disguise of a peasant, being delivered into the hands of his enemies by Mackland of Assan, to whom he had entrusted his person¹⁰.

9 Burnet, vol. i.—Clarendon, vol. vi.

10 Id. *ibid*.

The covenanters carried their noble prisoner in triumph to Edinburgh, where he was exposed to the most atrocious insults. After being conducted through the public streets, bound down on a high bench in a cart made for the purpose, with his hat off, the hangman by him, and his officers walking two and two in fetters behind him, he was brought before the parliament. Loudon, the chancellor, in a violent declamation, reproached him with the horrible murders, treasons, and impieties, for which he was now to suffer condign punishment. Montrose, who bore all these indignities with the greatest firmness, and looked down with a manly scorn on the rancour of his enemies, boldly replied, that in all his warlike enterprises he was warranted by that commission which he had received from his and their master, against whose lawful authority they had erected their standard; that no blood had ever been shed by him but in the field of battle, and many persons were now in his eye—many now dared to pronounce sentence of death upon him—whose lives, forfeited by the laws of war, he had formerly saved from the fury of the soldiers; that he was sorry to find no better testimony of their return to allegiance than the murder of a faithful subject, in whose death the king's commission must be, at once, so highly injured and insulted; that, as for himself, he despised their vindictive fanatical rage, and was only grieved at the contumely offered to that authority by which he acted¹¹.

This speech, so worthy of the heroic character of Montrose, had no effect on his unfeeling judges. Without regard to his illustrious birth or great renown, the man who had so remarkably distinguished himself by adhering to the laws of his country and the rights of his sovereign was condemned to suffer the ignominious death allotted to the basest felon. His sentence bore that he, James Graham, should be carried to the cross of Edinburgh, and there hanged on a gibbet thirty feet high; that his head should be cut off on a scaffold, and fixed on the Tolbooth, or city prison; that his legs and arms should be exposed in the four chief towns of the kingdom, and his body be buried in the place appropriated for malefactors. The last part of his sentence, however, was to be remitted, if he should so far repent as to induce the kirk to take off his excommunication. Furnished with so good a pretence, the clergy flocked about him, and exulted over his fallen fortunes, under colour of converting him. He smiled at their enthusiastic ravings, and rejected their spiritual aid: nor did he regard the solemnity with which they pronounced his eternal damnation, or their assurance that his future sufferings would surpass the present, as far in degree as in duration. He showed himself, through the whole process, superior

¹¹ Burnet, vol. i.—Hume, vol. vii.

to his fate; and when led to execution, amid the insults of his enemies, he overawed the cruel with the dignity of his looks, and melted the humane into tears.

In this last melancholy scene, when enmity itself is usually disarmed, another effort was made, by the governing party in Scotland, to subdue the magnanimous spirit of Montrose. The executioner was ordered to tie about his neck, with a cord, that book which had been published in elegant Latin, by Dr. Wishart, containing the history of his military exploits. He thanked his enemies for their officious zeal; declaring that he wore this testimony of his bravery and loyalty with more pride than he had ever worn the Garter; and finding they had no more insults to offer, he patiently submitted to the ignominious May 21. sentence¹². Thus unworthily perished the illustrious marquis of Montrose, in the thirty-eighth year of his age. Great talents he certainly had for war, and also for the polite arts, which he cultivated with success; but his courage appears to have been accompanied with a certain degree of extravagance, which, while it led him to conceive the boldest enterprises, prevented him from attending sufficiently to the means of accomplishing them. With Montrose were sacrificed all the persons, of any eminence, who had repaired to his standard, or taken arms in order to second his designs.

Though this cruel and unjust execution of a nobleman who had acted by royal authority made the young king more sensible of the furious spirit of the covenanters, as well as how little he had to expect from their generosity, his forlorn condition induced him to ratify the agreement with their commissioners, as the only resource left for recovering any part of his dominions. He accordingly embarked with them for Scotland, in a Dutch ship of war, furnished by the prince of Orange, and arrived safe in the frith of Cromartie. Here his humiliations began. Before he was permitted to land, he was obliged to sign the covenant, and to hear many sermons and lectures on the duty of persevering in that holy confederacy. The duke of Hamilton, formerly earl of Lanerk, the earl of Lauderdale, and other noblemen who had shared his confidence abroad, and whom the covenanters called *Engagers*, were immediately separated from him, and obliged to retire to their own houses. None of his English courtiers, except the duke of Buckingham, were allowed to remain in the kingdom; so that he found himself in the hands of Argyle and the rigid presbyterians, by whom he was considered as a mere pageant of state, and at whose mercy lay both his life and liberty¹³.

¹² Burnet, vol. i.—Hume, vol. vii.

¹³ Burnet, vol. i.—Clarendon, vol. v.

To please these austere zealots, Charles embraced a measure, which neither his inexperienced youth nor the necessity of his affairs could fully justify. At their request he published a declaration, which must have rendered him contemptible even to the fanatics who framed it : and yet his refusal might have been attended with very serious consequences. He gave thanks for the merciful dispensations of Providence, by which he was recovered from the snares of evil counsel, had attained a full persuasion of the righteousness of the covenant, and was induced to cast himself and his interests wholly upon God. He professed to be deeply humbled and afflicted in spirit, because his father had followed wicked measures, had opposed the covenant and the work of reformation, and shed the blood of God's people throughout his dominions. He lamented the idolatry of his mother, and the toleration of it in his father's house ; a matter of great offence, he said, to all the protestant churches, and a heinous provocation of a *jealous God, who visits the sins of the father upon the children*. He declared that he would have no enemies but the enemies of the covenant ; and that he detested all popery, superstition, prelacy, heresy, schism, and profaneness, and was resolved not to tolerate, much less to countenance, any of them, in any part of his dominions¹⁴.

This declaration had not the desired effect. The covenanters and the clergy were still diffident of the king's sincerity ; and their suspicions were increased when they compared his education, and the levity of his character, with the solemn protestations he had so readily made. They had therefore prepared other trials for him. They proposed that he should go through a public penance before his coronation :—and even to this indignity Charles had consented. In the power of these bigots he found his authority annihilated. He was not called to assist at any public council, and his favour was sufficient to discredit any candidate for office or preferment. The same jealousy rendered abortive all his attempts to reconcile the opposite parties. The marquis of Argyle artfully eluded all the king's advances toward a coalition. *Malignants* and *Engagers* continued to be objects of general hatred and persecution ; and all who were obnoxious to the clergy were branded with one or other of these epithets¹⁵.

The animosities among the parties in Scotland were so violent, that the approach of an English army was not sufficient to allay them. The progress of that army it must now be our business to observe.

The English parliament, informed of the issue of the negotiations at Breda, immediately recalled Cromwell from Ireland, and

¹⁴ Sir Edward Walker's *Historical Discourses*.—Burnet, vol. i.

¹⁵ Sir E. Walker's *Discourses*.

made vigorous preparations for hostilities, which it was foreseen would prove inevitable between the two British kingdoms. Ireton was left to govern Ireland, in the character of deputy ; and as Fairfax was still commander-in-chief of the forces in England, it was expected that he, assisted by Oliver, would conduct the war against Scotland. But although Fairfax had permitted the army to make use of his name in offering violence to the parliament, and in murdering his sovereign, he could not be prevailed upon to bear arms against his covenanted brethren ; so inconsistent are the ideas of fanatics in regard to moral duty !

Cromwell, on this occasion, acted the part of a profound hypocrite. Being sent as one of a committee of parliament, to overcome the scruples of Fairfax, (with whose rigid inflexibility, in every thing that he regarded as a matter of principle, Oliver was well acquainted) he went so far as to shed tears, seemingly of grief and vexation, in the affected earnestness of his solicitations. But all his endeavours failed : Fairfax resigned his commission : and Cromwell, whose ambition no one could suspect, after he had laboured so zealously to retain his superior in the chief command, was declared captain-general of all the forces in England¹⁶. This was the greatest step he had yet made toward sovereignty, such a command being of the utmost consequence in a commonwealth that stood solely by arms. Fully sensible of his increased importance, the new general instantly assembled his forces ; and before the Scots had signified any intention of asserting the right of Charles to the crown of England, he entered their country with an army of sixteen thousand men.

The Scots, who had begun to levy troops, on being threatened with an invasion, now doubled their diligence, and soon brought together a considerable army. David Leslie, the general, formed a very proper plan of defence. He entrenched himself in a fortified camp between Edinburgh and Leith, after having taken care to remove from the counties between Berwick and Edinburgh every thing that could serve to subsist the English army. Cromwell advanced to the Scottish camp, and tried, by every provocation, to bring Leslie to a battle, but without effect. The prudent Scot, aware that, though superior in number, his army was inferior in discipline to the enemy, remained within his entrenchments ; so that Oliver, reduced to distress for want of provisions, and harassed by continual skirmishes, was obliged to retire to Dunbar, where his fleet lay at anchor. The Scots followed him, and encamped on the heights which overlook that town. Cromwell seemed now on the brink of ruin or disgrace. He was conscious of his danger, and is said to have formed the desperate resolution of sending his foot and artillery

by sea to Newcastle, and of attempting, at all hazards, to force his way with his cavalry. But in this he would have found the utmost trouble, as Leslie had taken possession of all the difficult passes between Dunbar and Berwick : and could he even have accomplished his retreat, it would have occasioned, in the present unsettled disposition of men's minds, a general insurrection for the king in England¹⁷.

But the enthusiastic zeal of the Scottish clergy relieved Cromwell from all his difficulties. They had ordered the king to leave the camp, on finding that the soldiery began to testify an attachment toward him ; and they had likewise carefully purged it of a large body of *Malignants* and *Engagers*, whose loyalty had led them to attend their young sovereign, and who were men of the greatest credit and military appearance in the nation. They now thought they had an army composed wholly of saints ; and so confident were they of success, that after wrestling all night with the Lord in prayer, they forced Leslie, in spite of his earnest remonstrances, to descend into the plain, in order to smite the *sectarian* host. Cromwell, who had also been seeking the Lord in his way, and had felt great *enlargement of heart* in prayer, seeing the Scots in motion, was elate with holy transport. "God," cried he, "is delivering them into our hands : they are coming down to us !" He accordingly commanded his army Sept. 5. to advance singing psalms, in proof of his perfect assurance of victory, and fell upon the Scots before they were disposed in order of battle, after descending the hill. They were quickly thrown into confusion, and totally routed. About three thousand fell in the battle and pursuit, and about twice that number were taken prisoners. Cromwell, improving his advantage, made himself master of Edinburgh and Leith, while the remnant of the Scottish army fled to Stirling¹⁸. An ague, and the approach of winter, prevented him from extending his conquests before the close of the campaign.

The defeat at Dunbar, which broke the power and brought down the spiritual pride of the covenanters, who reproached their God with the slaughter of his elect, and accused him of having deceived them by false revelations, was by no means disagreeable to the king. He considered the armies that fought on both sides as almost equally his enemies ; and he hoped that the vanquished, for their own preservation, would now be obliged to allow him some portion of authority. He was not deceived. The Scottish parliament, which met soon after at Perth, agreed to admit Hamilton, Lauderdale, and all the *Engagers*, to share in the civil and military employments of the

17 Burnet, vol. i.—Clarendon, vol. vi.—Whitelocke, p. 471.

18 *Id. ibid.*—Sir E. Walker's Disc.—Ludlow's Mem. vol. i.

kingdom, on their doing public penance. Some *Malignants*, or episcopal royalists, also crept in among them: and the king's intended penance was changed into the ceremony of his coronation, which was performed with great pomp and solemnity at Scone¹⁹.

But Charles, amid all this appearance of respect, was still in a condition that very ill suited his temper and disposition. He remained in the hands of the most rigid covenanters, and was in a predicament little better than that of a prisoner. Exposed to all the rudeness and pedantry of the presbyterian clergy, and obliged to listen to prayers and sermons from morn to night, he had no opportunity for the display of his agreeable qualities; and could not avoid betraying, amid so many objects of ridicule and disgust, occasional symptoms of weariness and contempt. For, although artful in the practice of courtly dissimulation, he could never mould his features into that starched grimace which the covenanters regarded as the infallible sign of conversion.—His spiritual guides, therefore, never thought him sufficiently regenerated, but were continually striving to bring him into a more perfect state of grace²⁰.

Shocked at these indignities, and weary of confinement, Charles attempted to regain his liberty, by joining a body of royalists, who promised to support him. He accordingly made his escape from Argyle and the covenanters: but being pursued by colonel Montgomery and a troop of horse, he was induced to return, on finding the royalists less powerful than he expected. This elopement, however, had a good effect. The king was afterwards better treated, and intrusted with more authority; the covenanters being afraid of renewing their rigours, lest he should embrace some desperate measure²¹.

When the Scottish army had re-assembled, under Hamilton and Leslie, Charles was allowed to join the camp. But, imminent as the danger was, the Scots were still divided by ecclesiastical disputes. The forces of the western counties, disclaiming the authority of the parliament, would not act in conjunction with an army that admitted any *Engagers* or *Malignants* among them. They called themselves the *Protesters*, and the other party were denominated the *Resolutioners*—distinctions which continued to agitate the kingdom with theological hatred and animosity²².

Charles, having put himself at the head of his troops, encamped in a very advantageous situation. The town of Stirling lay at his back, and the plentiful county of Fife supplied him with provisions. His front, to which the English army advan-

19 Burnet.—Walker.

21 Id. *ibid*.

20 Burnet, vol. i.

22 Burnet, vol. i.

ced, was defended by strong entrenchments : and his soldiers, as well as his generals, being rendered more deliberately cautious by experience, Cromwell in vain attempted to draw them from their posts by offering them battle. After the two armies had faced each other about six weeks, Cromwell sent a detachment over the Forth, to cut off the king's provisions ; and so intent was he on that object, that, losing sight of all beside, he passed over with his whole army, and effectually accomplished his purpose. The king found it impossible to keep his post ; and, in this emergency, he embraced a resolution worthy of a prince contending for empire. He boldly marched into England, with an army of fourteen thousand men. Cromwell, whose mind was more vigorous than comprehensive, was surprised and alarmed at this movement. But, if he had been guilty of an error, in his eagerness to distress his enemy, he took the most effectual means to repair it. He despatched Lambert with a body of cavalry to hang upon the rear of the royal army ; he left Monk to complete the reduction of Scotland ; and he himself followed the king with all possible expedition.

Charles had reason to expect, from the hatred which prevailed against the parliament, that his presence would produce a general insurrection in England. But he found himself disappointed. The English presbyterians, having no notice of his design, were not prepared to join him ; and the cavaliers, or old royalists, to whom his approach was equally unknown, were farther deterred from such a measure, by the necessity of subscribing the covenant. Both parties were overawed by the militia of the counties, which the parliament had, every where, authority sufficient to raise. National antipathy had also its influence : and the king found, when he arrived at Worcester, that his forces were little more numerous than when he left the borders of Scotland. Cromwell, with thirty thousand men, attacked Worcester on all sides ; and Charles, after beholding the ruin of his cause, and giving proof of personal valour, was obliged to have recourse to flight. The duke of Hamilton, who made a desperate resistance, was mortally wounded, and the Scots were almost all either killed or taken. Of the prisoners, who amounted to eight thousand, a great number were sold as slaves to the American planters²³.

When the king left Worcester, he was attended by Leslie and a party of horse ; but seeing them overwhelmed with consternation, and fearing they could not reach their own country, he withdrew himself from them in the night, with two or three

²³ Whitelocke.—Clarendon.

friends, from whom he also separated himself, after making them cut off his hair, that he might the better effect his escape, in an unknown character. By the direction of the earl of Derby, he went to Boscobel, a solitary house on the borders of Staffordshire, inhabited by one Penderel, an obscure but honest farmer. Here he continued for some days, in the disguise of a peasant, employed in cutting faggots with the farmer and his three brothers. One day, for better concealment, he mounted a spreading oak; among the thick branches of which he sheltered himself, while several persons passed below in search of their unhappy sovereign, and expressed, in his hearing, their earnest desire of seizing him, that they might deliver him into the hands of his father's murderers²⁴.

An attempt to relate all the romantic adventures of Charles, before he completed his escape, would lead me into details that could only serve to gratify an idle curiosity. But there is one other anecdote that must not be omitted, as it shows, in a strong light, the loyalty and liberal spirit of the English gentry, even in those times of general rebellion and fanaticism.

The king having met with lord Wilmot, near Boscobel, they agreed to throw themselves upon the fidelity of Mr. Lane, a zealous royalist, who lived at a short distance. By the contrivance of this gentleman, who treated them with great respect and cordiality, they were enabled to reach the sea-coast; the king riding, on the same horse, before Mr. Lane's daughter to Bristol, in the character of a servant. But, when Charles arrived there, he was informed that no ship would sail from that port, either for France or Spain, for more than a month: he was therefore obliged to look elsewhere in quest of a passage. In the mean time he entrusted himself to colonel Wyndham of Dorsetshire, a gentleman of distinguished loyalty. Wyndham, before he received the king, asked leave to impart the secret to his mother. The request was granted; and that venerable matron, on being introduced to her royal guest, expressed the utmost joy, that, having lost, without regret, three sons and one grandson in defence of his father, she was still reserved, in her declining years, to be instrumental in *his* preservation. The colonel himself told Charles, that his father, sir Thomas, in the year 1636, a few days before his death, called to him his five sons, and said, "My children! you have hitherto seen serene and quiet times; but I must warn you now to prepare for clouds and storms. Factions arise on every side, and threaten the tranquillity of your native country. But whatever may happen, do you faithfully honour and obey your prince, and adhere to the

²⁴ This tree was afterwards called the *Royal Oak*, and was long regarded with great veneration by the people in the neighbourhood.

crown. I charge you never to forsake the *crown*, though it should *hang* upon a *bush*.”—“These last words,” added Wyndham, “made such impression on our breasts, that the many afflictions of these sad times could never efface their indelible characters²⁵.”

While the king remained at the house of colonel Wyndham, all his friends in Britain, and over Europe, were held in the most anxious suspense, with respect to his fate. No one could conjecture what was become of him, or whether he was dead or alive; but a report of his death, being generally credited, happily relaxed the search of his enemies. Many attempts were made to procure a vessel for his escape, though without success. He was obliged to shift his quarters, to assume new disguises, and entrust himself to other friends, who all gave proofs of incorruptible fidelity and attachment. At last a vessel was found at Shoreham in Sussex, where he embarked, and arrived safely at Fescamp, in Normandy, after having been concealed for one-and-forty days, during which the secret of his life had been entrusted to forty persons²⁶.

The battle of Worcester, which utterly extinguished the hopes of the royalists, afforded Cromwell what he called his *crowning mercy*²⁷; an immediate prospect of that sovereignty which had long been the object of his ambition. Extravagantly elate with his good fortune, he would have knighted on the field of victory Lambert and Fleetwood, two of his generals, if he had not been dissuaded by his friends from exercising that act of regal authority²⁸. Every place now submitted to the arms of the commonwealth, not only in Great Britain, Ireland, and the neighbouring islands, but also on the continent of America, and in the East and West Indies; so that the parliament had soon leisure to look abroad, and to exert its vigour against foreign nations. The Dutch first felt the weight of its vengeance.

The independence of the United Provinces being secured by the treaty of Munster, that republic was at this time the greatest commercial state in Europe. The English had long been jealous of the prosperity of the Hollanders; but the common interests of religion, for a time, and afterward the alliance between the house of Stuart and the family of Orange, prevented any rupture between the two nations. This alliance had also led the states to favour the royal cause, during the civil wars in England, and to overlook the murder of Dorislaus, one of the regicides, who had been assassinated at the Hague by the followers of Montrose. But after the death of William II. prince of Orange, who was carried off by the small-pox, when he was on

²⁵ Clarendon.—Elench. Mot.—Heath's Chron.

²⁷ Parl. Hist.

²⁶ Clarendon.—Heath.

²⁸ Whitelocke, p. 523.

the point of enslaving the people whom his ancestors had restored to liberty, greater respect was shown to the English commonwealth by the government party in Holland, which was chiefly composed of violent republicans. Through the influence of that party, a perpetual edict was published against the dignity of stadtholder. Encouraged by this revolution, the English parliament thought the season favourable for cementing a close confederacy with the States; and St. John, who was sent over to the Hague, in the character of plenipotentiary, had entertained the idea of forming such a coalition between the two republics as would have rendered their interests inseparable. But their High Mightinesses, unwilling to enter into such a solemn treaty with a government whose measures were so obnoxious, and whose situation seemed yet precarious, offered only to renew their former alliance with England; and the haughty St. John, disgusted with this disappointment, as well as incensed at some affronts which had been put upon him by the retainers of the Palatine and Orange families, returned to London with a determined resolution of taking advantage of the national jealousy, in order excite a quarrel between the two commonwealths²⁹.

The parliament entered into the resentment of its ambassador: and, through his influence, in conjunction with that of Cromwell, was framed and passed the famous *Act of Navigation*, which provided, among other regulations, that no goods should be imported into England, from Asia, Africa, or America, but in English ships, nor from any part of Europe, except in vessels belonging to that country of which the goods were the growth or manufacture. This act, though necessary and truly politic as a domestic measure, and general in its restrictions on foreign powers, particularly affected the Dutch, as was foreseen; because their country produces few commodities, and they subsisted and still subsist chiefly by being the carriers and factors of other nations. A mutual jealousy, accompanied with mutual injuries, ensued between the republics; and a fierce naval war, ultimately occasioned by a dispute about the honour of the flag, was the consequence.

Van Tromp, an admiral of great renown, had received from the states the command of a fleet of forty sail, to protect the Dutch merchantmen against the English privateers. He was forced, as he pretended, by stress of wea-

²⁹ The duke of York being then at the Hague, St. John had the presumption, in a public walk, to dispute the precedence with him. Fied at this insult, the prince Palatine pulled off the ambassador's hat, and bade him respect the son and brother of his king. St. John put his hand to his sword, and refused to acknowledge either the king or duke of York; but the populace taking part with the prince, the proud republican was obliged to seek refuge in his legation. Basnage, p. 218.

ther, into the road of Dover, where he met with the celebrated Blake, who commanded an English fleet of only fifteen sail. Elate with his superiority, the Dutch commander, instead of obeying the signal to strike his flag, according to ancient custom, in the presence of an English man-of-war, is said to have poured a broadside into the admiral's ship. Blake boldly returned the salute, notwithstanding his slender force; and, being afterward joined by a squadron of eight sail, he maintained a spirited conflict for four hours, took one of the enemy's ships, and sunk another.

Several other engagements ensued, without any decisive advantage. At length Van Tromp, seconded by the famous De Ruyter, met near the Godwin Sands with the English fleet commanded by Blake; who, although considerably inferior in force, did not decline the combat. A furious encounter took place, in which the admirals on both sides, as well as the inferior officers and seamen, exerted uncommon bravery; but the Dutch were ultimately conquerors. Two English ships were taken, two burned, and one sunk.

After this victory Tromp, in bravado, fixed a broom to the top of his main-mast, as if determined to sweep the sea of all English vessels. But he was not suffered long to enjoy his triumph. Great preparations were made in England to avenge so mortifying an insult, and recover the honour of the flag.

A fleet of eighty sail was speedily fitted out. Blake was again invested with the chief command, having under him Dean and Monk, two worthy associates.

While the English admiral lay off Portland, he descried a Dutch fleet of seventy-six ships of war, sailing Feb. 18, 1653. up the Channel, with two hundred merchantmen under its convoy. This fleet was commanded by Van Tromp and De Ruyter, who intrepidly prepared themselves to combat their old antagonist, and support that glory which they had acquired. The battle that ensued was accordingly the most furious that had been fought between the hostile powers. For two days was the contest maintained with the utmost rage and obstinacy: on the third the Dutch gave way, and yielded the sovereignty of the ocean to its natural lords. Tromp, however, by a masterly retreat, saved all the merchantmen except thirty; but he lost eleven ships of war, and had two thousand men killed.

After this signal overthrow, the naval power of the Dutch seemed, for a time, to be almost annihilated, and their trade was severely injured. Above fifteen hundred of their ships had fallen, during the course of the war, into the hands of the English seamen. Convinced at last of the necessity of submission, they resolved to gratify the pride of the English parliament by

soliciting peace. But their advances were treated with disdain. It was not therefore without pleasure that the states received an account of the dissolution of the haughty assembly.

The cause of this dissolution it is our business to investigate, and to relate the circumstances with which it was accompanied.

The zealous republicans, who had long entertained a well-founded jealousy of the ambitious views of Cromwell, took every opportunity of extolling the advantages of the fleet, while they endeavoured to discredit the army; and, insisting on the intolerable expense to which the nation was subjected, they now urged the necessity of a reduction of the land forces. That able commander and artful politician, who clearly saw, from the whole of their proceedings, that they were afraid of his power and meant to reduce it, boldly resolved to prevent them, by realising their apprehensions. He immediately summoned a council of officers: and, as most of them owed their advancements to his favour, and relied upon him for their future preferment, he found them entirely devoted to his will. They agreed to present a remonstrance to the parliament, complaining of the arrears due to the army, and demanding a new representative body. The commons were offended at this liberty, and came to a resolution not to dissolve the parliament, but to fill up their number by new elections.

April 20. Enraged at such obstinacy, Cromwell hastened to the house with three hundred soldiers; some of whom he placed at the door, some in the lobby, and some on the stairs. He first addressed himself to his friend St. John, telling him he had come with a purpose of doing what grieved him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly besought the Lord not to impose upon him; but there was a necessity, he added, for the glory of God, and the good of the nation. He sat down for some time, and heard the debates. Afterward starting up suddenly, as if under the influence of inspiration or insanity, he loaded the parliament with the keenest reproaches, for its tyranny, oppression, and robbery of the public. Then stamping with his foot, which was a signal for the soldiers to enter, "For shame!" said he to the members, "get you gone! and give place to honest men; to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament! I tell you, you are no longer a parliament! The Lord hath done with you: he hath chosen other instruments for carrying on his work." Sir Henry Vane remonstrating against this outrage, Cromwell exclaimed with a loud voice, "Oh, sir Harry Vane! sir Harry Vane! the Lord deliver me from sir Harry Vane!" words by which it should seem that he wished some of the soldiers to despatch him. Taking hold of Martin by the cloak, "Thou art a whore-master!" said he; to another, "Thou art an adult-

erer!" to a third, "Thou art a drunkard and glutton!" and to a fourth, "Thou art an extortioner!" He commanded a soldier to seize the mace, saying, "What shall we do with *this bawble*?—Here, take it away!—It is you," added he, addressing himself to the members, "that have forced me to proceed thus. I have sought the Lord, night and day, that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work!" And, having previously commanded the soldiers to clear the house, he ordered the door to be locked, put the key in his pocket, and retired to his lodgings in Whitehall³⁰.

Thus, my dear Philip, did Oliver Cromwell, in a manner so suitable to his general character, and without bloodshed, annihilate the very shadow of the parliament; and by this daring step he acquired the whole civil and military power of the three kingdoms. And dispassionate reasoners, of all parties, *who had successively enjoyed the melancholy pleasure of seeing the injuries they had reciprocally suffered revenged on their enemies*, were at last made sensible, that licentious liberty, under whatever pretence its violences may be covered, must inevitably end in the arbitrary and despotic government of a single person. Nor were the people, considered as a body, displeased at the violent usurpation of Cromwell, from whom they expected more lenity than from the imperious republicans.

This extraordinary man, who now lorded it over his fellow-subjects, was born of a good family at Huntingdon. His education was liberal; but his genius being little fitted for the elegant and tranquil pursuits of literature, he made no great proficiency in his studies, either at school or at the university of Cambridge. He even threw himself into a dissolute course of life, when sent to study the law in one of the inns of court, and consumed the earlier years of his manhood in gaming, drinking, and debauchery. But suddenly, he was seized with religious qualms; affected a grave and sanctified behaviour, and was soon distinguished among the puritanical party, by the fervour of his devotional exercises. To repair his injured fortune, which never had been very considerable, he betook himself to farming; but he spent so much time with his family in prayers, that this new occupation served only to involve him in greater difficulties. His spiritual reputation, however, was so high, that notwithstanding the low state of his temporal affairs, he found means to be chosen a member of the Long Parliament. The ardour of his zeal frequently prompted him to speak in the house; but he was not heard with attention; his person being ungraceful, his voice untunable, his elocution embarrassed, and his speeches tedious, obscure, confused, and often unintelligible. But, as a profound

³⁰ Whitelocke, p. 554.—Ludlow, vol. ii.—Clarendon, vol. vi.—Hume, vol. vii.

thinker very justly observes, there are, amidst the variety of human geniuses, some who, though they see their objects clearly and distinctly in general, yet, when they come to unfold their ideas in discourse or writing, lose that luminous conception which they had before attained.

Never was this philosophical truth more fully exemplified than in the character of Oliver Cromwell, whose actions were as decisive, prompt and judicious, as his speeches were wavering, prolix, and inconclusive. Nor were his written compositions much superior to his speeches; the great defect of both consisting, not in the want of expression, but in the seeming want of ideas. Yet Cromwell, though he had entered his forty-fourth year before he embraced the military profession, soon became an excellent officer, without the help of a master. He first raised a troop, and then a regiment of horse; and it was he who instituted that discipline, and infused that spirit, which rendered the parliamentary forces in the end victorious. He introduced and recommended the practice of inlisting the sons of farmers and freeholders, instead of the debauched and enervated inhabitants of great cities or manufacturing towns. He preached, he prayed, he fought, he punished, he rewarded; and inspired, first his own regiment, and afterward the whole army, with the wildest and boldest enthusiasm. The steps by which he rose to high command, and attained to sovereignty, we have already had occasion to trace. Let us now view him in the exercise of his authority.

When Cromwell assumed the reins of government, he had three parties in the nation against him; the royalists, the presbyterians, and the republicans. But as each of these had a violent antipathy against both the others, none of them could become formidable to the army: and the republicans, whom he had dethroned, and whose resentment he had most occasion to fear, were farther divided among themselves. Besides the independents, they consisted of two sets of men, who had a great contempt for each other; namely the Millenarians, or *fifth-monarchy men*, who were in expectation of the second coming of Christ; and the Deists, who utterly denied the truth of revelation, and considered the tenets of the various sects as alike founded in folly and error. The Deists were peculiarly obnoxious to Cromwell, partly from a belief in Christianity (which he retained amidst all his atrocities), but chiefly because he could have no hold of them by enthusiasm. He therefore treated them with great rigour, and usually denominated them the *Heathens*³¹. The heads of this small division were Algernon Sidney, Henry Nevil, Chaloner, Martin, Wildman, and

31 Burnet, vol. i.

Harrington; men whose abilities might have rendered them dangerous, had not the freedom of their opinions excited the indignation of all parties³².

Cromwell paid more attention to the Millenarians, who had great interest in the army, and whose narrow understanding and enthusiastic temper afforded full scope for the exercise of his pious deceptions. These men, while they anxiously expected the *second coming* of Christ, believed that the saints, among whom they considered themselves as standing in the first class, alone had a right to govern in the mean time. Cromwell, in conformity with this way of thinking, told them he had only stepped in between the *living* and the *dead*, to keep the nation, during that interval, from becoming a prey to the *common enemy*³³. And in order to show them how willing he was they should share his power, since God in his providence had thrown the whole load of government upon his shoulders, he sent writs, by the advice of his council of officers, to a hundred and twenty-eight persons, chiefly gifted men, of different towns and counties of England and Wales; to five of Scotland, and to six of Ireland. To these illiterate enthusiasts, chosen by himself, he pretended to commit the whole authority of the state, under the denomination of the parliament; and as one of the most active and illuminated among them, a leather-seller in London, bore the name of *Praise-God Barebone*, this contemptible assembly was ludicrously called *Barebone's Parliament*³⁴.

Cromwell told these fanatical legislators, on their July 4. first meeting, that he never looked to see such a day when Christ should be so owned³⁵; and they, elate with the important dignity to which they supposed themselves exalted, as well as encouraged by the overflowings of the Holy Spirit, thought it their duty to proceed to a thorough reformation, and to pave the way for the reign of the Redeemer³⁶. Meanwhile the Dutch ambassadors endeavoured to enter into a negotiation with them: but, although protestants, and even presbyterians,

32 Each of the other sects wished to erect a spiritual as well as a temporal dominion; but the Deists, who acted only on the principles of civil liberty, were for abolishing the very appearance of a national church, and leaving religion free, as they called it, without either encouragement or restraint. (Burnet, vol. i.) Such a project was particularly alarming to the spiritual pride of the presbyterians, who, since the signing of the covenant, had considered their religion as the hierarchy. And Cromwell not only quieted them on this head, by assuring them that he would still maintain a public ministry with all due encouragement, but even in some measure conciliated their affections by joining them in a commission with some independents, to be examiners of those who were to be admitted to benefices, and also to dispose of all the churches that were in the gift of the crown, of the bishops, and of the cathedrals. (Id. *ibid.*) The episcopalians were merely tolerated.

33 Burnet, vol. i.

35 Milton's State Papers, p. 106.

34 Whitelocke.—Clarendon.

36 Parl. Hist. vol. xx.

they met with an unfriendly reception from senators who had pretensions to such superior sanctity ; being regarded as worldly-minded men, intent only on commerce and industry ; and whom it was proper that the saints should extirpate, before they undertook the subduing of Antichrist, the *Man of Sin*, and the extending of the Redeemer's kingdom to the farthest corners of the earth³⁷. The ambassadors, who were strangers to such wild doctrines, remained in astonishment, at finding themselves regarded as the enemies, not of England, but of Christ !

Even Cromwell himself began to be ashamed of the pageant he had set up as a legislature, and with which he meant only to amuse the populace and the army. But what particularly displeased him was, that the members of this enthusiastic parliament, though they derived their authority solely from him, began to pretend powers from the Lord³⁸ ; and as he had been careful to summon in his writs several persons warm in his interest, he hinted to some of them, that the continuance of such a parliament would be of no service to the nation. They accordingly met sooner than usual, as had been concerted ; and repairing, with Rous, the speaker, to the council of officers, declared themselves unequal to the task which they had unwarily undertaken, and resigned their delegated power. But general Harrison, and about twenty other fanatics, remained in the house ; and that they might prevent the reign of the saints from coming to an untimely end, they placed one Moyer in the chair, and were preparing to draw up protests, when they were interrupted by colonel White and a party of soldiers. The colonel asked them, what they did there ? “ We are seeking the Lord,” said they.—“ Then you may go elsewhere,” replied he ; “ for, to my certain knowledge, he has not been here these many years³⁹. ”

The council of officers, by virtue of that pretended power which the mock parliament had resigned into their hands, now voted, that it was necessary to temper the liberty of a republic by the authority of a single person. And being in possession of that argument which silences all others, namely force, they prepared Dec. 16. what was called the *Instrument of Government*, and declared Oliver Cromwell *Protector*, or supreme magistrate of the commonwealth, the name of king being still odious in their ears. He was according conducted to Whitehall with great solemnity, Lambert carrying the sword of state before him : he was honoured with the title of *Highness* ; and, having

³⁷ Thurloe, vol. i. p. 273, 391.

³⁹ Parl. Hist. vol. xx.

³⁸ Thurloe, vol. i. p. 393.

taken the oath required of him, he was proclaimed in the three kingdoms without the smallest opposition⁴⁰.

The chief articles in the instrument of government were, that the protector should be assisted by a council of state, which should not consist of more than twenty-one, or of less than thirteen persons; that, in his name, all justice should be administered, and from him all honours derived; that he should have the right of peace and war, and enjoy the power of the sword jointly with the parliament while sitting, and, during the intervals, with the council of state; that he should summon a parliament once in three years, and allow it to sit five months, without adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution⁴¹. The council of state, named in the instrument, consisted of fifteen persons, strongly attached to the protector; who, in case of a vacancy, had the power of choosing one out of three presented by the remaining members⁴². He had, therefore, little reason to apprehend any opposition from them in the arbitrary exercise of his authority. An implicit submission to some first magistrate, it must be owned, had become absolutely necessary, in order to preserve the people from relapsing into civil slaughter; so that we may partly admit Cromwell's plea of the *public good*, as an apology for his usurpation; though we should not give entire credit to his declaration, that he would rather have taken a *shepherd's staff* than the *protectorship*⁴³.

While Cromwell was thus completing his usurpation over his fellow-subjects, he did not neglect the honour or the interests of the nation. Never did England appear more formidable than during his administration. A fleet of a hundred sail was fitted out, under the command of Monk and Dean. They met with the Dutch fleet, equally numerous, near the coast of Flanders; and the officers and seamen, on both sides, June 2. fired with emulation, and animated with the desire of remaining sole lords of the ocean, disputed the victory with the most fierce

40 Clarendon.—Whitelocke.

41 Whitelocke.—Parl. Hist.

42 Whitelocke.

43 Burnet, vol. i.—Cowley's observations on this subject are more sprightly than sound. "The government was broken," says he: "Who broke it? It was dissolved: Who dissolved it? It was extinguished—Who was it but Cromwell, who not only put out the light, but cast away even the very snuff of it? As if a man should murder a whole family, and then possess himself of the whole house; because it is better that he, than that only rats should live there!" (*Discourse on the Gov. of Ol. Crom.*) The reflections of Hobbes, on the necessity of the submission of the people in such emergency, are more pertinent. "The obligation of subjects to the sovereign is understood to last as long, and no longer, than the power lasteth by which he is able to protect them; for the right men have by nature to protect themselves, when none else can protect them, can by no covenant be relinquished. The sovereignty is the soul of the commonwealth, which, once departed from the body, the members do no more receive their motion from it. The end of obedience is to obey that power, which wheresoever a man seeth, nature applieth his obedience to that power, and his endeavour to maintain it." *Leviathan*, p. 114, fol. edit.

and obstinate courage. Though Dean was killed in the heat of the action, the Dutch were obliged to retire, with great loss, after a battle of two days; and as Blake had joined his countrymen with eighteen sail, toward the close of the engagement, the English fleet lay off the coast of Holland, and totally interrupted the commerce of the republic.

But the states made one effort more to retrieve the honour of their flag; and never, on any occasion, did their vigour appear more conspicuous. They not only repaired and manned their fleet in a few weeks, but launched and rigged some ships of a larger size than any they had hitherto sent to sea. With this new armament Tromp issued forth, determined again to fight the victors, and to die rather than yield the contest. He soon met with the English fleet, commanded by Monk; and the battle raged from morning till night, without any sensible advantage in favour of either party. Next day the action was continued, and the setting sun beheld the contest undecided. The third morning the struggle was renewed; and victory seemed still

July 31. doubtful, when Tromp, while gallantly animating his men, with his sword drawn, was shot through the heart with a musquet ball. That event at once decided the sovereignty of the ocean. The Dutch lost twenty-five ships, and A. D. 1654. were glad to purchase a peace, by yielding to the English the honour of the flag, and making such other concessions as were required of them⁴⁴.

This successful conclusion of the Dutch war, which strengthened Cromwell's authority both at home and abroad, encouraged him to summon a free parliament, according to a stipulation in the instrument of government. He took the precaution, however, to exclude all the royalists who had borne arms for the king, and all their sons. Thirty members were returned from Scotland, and as many from Ireland. But the protector was soon sensible, that even this circumscribed freedom of election was incompatible with his usurped dominion. The new parliament began its deliberations with questioning his right to that authority which he had assumed over the nation. Cromwell saw his mistake, and endeavouring to correct it. Enraged at the refractory spirit of the commons, he sent for them to the Painted Chamber; where, after inveighing against their conduct, and endeavouring to show the absurdity of disputing the legality of that instrument by which they were convoked, he required them to sign a recognition of his authority, and an engagement not to propose or consent to any alteration in the go-

vernment, as it was settled in a single person and a parliament : and he placed guards at the door of the lower house, who allowed none but subscribers to enter⁴⁵. Most of the members, after some hesitation, submitted to this despotism ; but, as they retained the same independent spirit which they had discovered at their first meeting, Cromwell resolved to put an end to their debates. He accordingly dissolved the parliament, Jan. 22, 1655. before the expiration of the term prescribed by that instrument of government which he had lately sworn to observe.

The discontents of the parliament communicated themselves to the nation. Sir Henry Vane and the old republicans, who maintained the indissoluble authority of the long parliament, encouraged the murmurs against the protector ; and the royalists observing the general dissatisfaction, without considering the diversity of parties, thought every one had embraced the same views with themselves. They accordingly entered into a conspiracy throughout England ; and the most sanguine hopes were entertained of success. But Cromwell, having information of their purpose, was enabled effectually to defeat it. Many of them were immediately thrown into prison, and the rest were generally discouraged from rising. In one place only the conspiracy broke out into action. Grove, Penruddock, and other gentlemen, proclaimed the king at Salisbury ; but they received no accession of force equal to their expectations, and were soon quelled. The chief conspirators were capitally punished, and many of their partisans were transported as slaves to Barbadoes⁴⁶.

The early suppression of this conspiracy more firmly established the protector's authority. It at once showed the turbulent spirit and the impotence of his enemies, and afforded him a plausible pretext for all his tyrannical severities. He resolved no longer to keep any terms with the royalists. With consent of his council, he issued an edict for exacting the tenth penny from the whole party : and, in order to raise that imposition, which commonly passed by the name of *decimation*, he constituted twelve major-generals, and divided England into so many military jurisdictions⁴⁷. These officers, assisted by commissioners, had power to subject whom they pleased to decimation, to levy all the taxes imposed by the protector and his council, and to imprison any person who should be exposed to their jealousy or suspicion. They acted as absolute masters of the liberty and property of every English subject ; and thus were the people cruelly subjected to a military and despotic government.

⁴⁵ Thorloe, vol. ii.

⁴⁶ Whitlocke.—Clarendon

⁴⁷ Parl. Hist. vol. x.

That government, however, directed by the vigorous spirit of Cromwell, gave England a degree of consequence among the European powers which it had never enjoyed since the days of Elizabeth. France and Spain courted the alliance of the protector: and had Cromwell understood and regarded the interests of his country, it has been said, he would have endeavoured to preserve that balance of power, on which the welfare of England so much depends, by supporting the declining condition of Spain against the dangerous ambition and rising greatness of the house of Bourbon⁴⁸. But the protector's politics, though sound, were less extensive. An invasion from France, in favour of the royal family, or a rupture with that court, might prove ruinous to his authority, in the present dissatisfied state of England. From Spain he had nothing of equal danger to fear; while he was tempted to begin hostilities, by the prospect of making himself master of her most valuable possessions in the West Indies, as well as of her plate fleets, by means of the superiority of his naval force. He therefore entered into a negotiation with Mazarine, who, as a sacrifice to the jealous pride of the usurper, gave the English princes notice to leave France. They retired to Cologne: and a close alliance was afterwards concluded between the rival powers; in consequence of which, England, as we have already seen, obtained possession of Dunkirk.

Having resolved on a war with Spain. Cromwell fitted out two formidable fleets, while the neighbouring states remained in anxious suspense, no one being able to conjecture where the blow would fall. One of these fleets, consisting of thirty ships of the line, he sent into the Mediterranean, under the famous admiral Blake; who, casting anchor before Leghorn, demanded and obtained, from the duke of Tuscany, reparation for some injuries which the English commerce had sustained from that prince. Blake then sailed to Algiers, and compelled the dey to restrain his piratical subjects from farther depredations on the English. He presented himself also before Tunis; and when he had there made the same demand, the barbarian ruler of that state desired him to look to the castles of Porto Farino and Goletta, and do his utmost. Blake, who needed little to be roused by such a defiance, drew his ships close up to the castles, and tore them in pieces with his artillery; while he sent a detachment of sailors in long-boats into the harbour, and burned every ship that lay there. The coasts of the Mediterranean, from one extremity to the other, rang with the renown of English valour; and no power, Christian or Mohammedan dared to oppose the victorious Blake.

The other fleet, commanded by admiral Penn, and which had three thousand soldiers on board, under the direction of general Venables, sailed for the West Indies; where Venables was reinforced with four thousand men from the islands of Barbadoes and St. Christopher. The object of the enterprise was the conquest of Hispaniola, the most valuable island in the American Archipelago. The commanders accordingly resolved to begin with the attack of St. Domingo, the capital, and at that time the only place of strength in the island. On the approach of the English fleet, the intimidated Spaniards abandoned their habitations, and took refuge in the woods; but observing that the troops were imprudently landed at a great distance from the town, and seemed unacquainted with the country, they recovered their spirits; and, falling upon the bewildered invaders, when exhausted with hunger, thirst, and a fatiguing march of two days, in that sultry climate, they put the whole English army to flight, killed six hundred men, and chased the rest to their ships⁴⁹. To atone for this failure, Penn and Venables bent their course to Jamaica, which was surrendered to them without opposition: yet, on their return to England, the protector, in the first emotions of his disappointment, sent both to the Tower. But Cromwell, although ignorant of the importance of the conquest he had made, took care to support it with men and money⁵⁰; and Jamaica became a valuable accession to the English monarchy.

No sooner was the king of Spain informed of these unprovoked hostilities than he declared war against England, and ordered all the ships and goods, belonging to the English merchants, to be seized throughout his dominions. The Spanish commerce, so profitable to England, was cut off; and a great number of vessels fell into the hands of the enemy. Nor were the losses of the Spaniards less considerable. An English squadron being sent to cruise off Cadiz for the plate fleet, A. D. 1656. took two galleons richly laden, and set on fire two others, which had run on shore⁵¹. This success proved an incentive to a bolder, though a less profitable enterprise. Blake, hearing that a Spanish fleet of sixteen sail had taken shelter among the Canaries, steered his course thither; and found them in the bay of Santa Cruz, in a very strong posture of defence. A. D. 1657. The bay was secured by a formidable castle, and seven inferior forts, in different parts of it, all united by a line of communication. Don Diego Diagues, the Spanish admiral, had moored his smaller vessels near the shore, and stationed the

49 Burchet's Naval History.—Thurloe, vol. iii.

51 Thurloe, vol. iv.

50 Id. *ibid.*

large galleons farther out, with their broadsides to the sea. Rather animated than intimidated by this hostile appearance, Blake, taking advantage of a favourable wind, sailed full into the bay, April 21. and soon found himself in the midst of his enemies. After a fierce contest, the Spaniards abandoned their galleons, which were set on fire, and consumed with all their treasure; and the wind fortunately shifting, while the English fleet lay exposed to the fire of the castle and of all the other forts, Blake was enabled to weather the bay, and left the Spaniards in astonishment at his successful temerity⁵².

These vigorous exertions rendered Cromwell's authority equally respected at home and abroad: and to his honour it must be owned, that his domestic administration was as mild and equitable as his situation would permit. He had again ventured to summon the parliament; but, not trusting to the good will of the people, he employed all his influence to fill the house with his own creatures, and even placed guards at the doors, who permitted none to enter but such as produced a warrant from his council. A majority in his favour being procured by these irregular means, a motion was made for investing him with the dignity of king; and, notwithstanding the opposition of the republicans, a bill to this purpose was voted, and a committee appointed to reason with him, in order to overcome his pretended scruples. The conference lasted for several days; and, although Cromwell's inclination, as well as his judgment, favoured the request of the committee, he found himself obliged to refuse so tempting an offer. Not only the ambitious Lambert, and other officers of the army, were prepared to mutiny on such a revolution, but the protector saw himself ready to be abandoned even by those who were most intimately connected with his family interest. Fleetwood, who had married his daughter and Desborow his brother-in-law, actuated merely by principle, declared, that, if he should accept the crown, they would instantly throw up their commissions, and never serve him more⁵³.

Cromwell having thus rejected the regal dignity, his friends in parliament found themselves obliged to retain the names of a commonweath and protector; and as the government was

⁵² Bruchet's Naval Hist.—This was the last and greatest action of this gallant naval commander, who died in his way home. He was, by principle, an inflexible republican; and only his zeal for the interests of his country induced him to serve under the usurper. Though he was above forty-four years of age before he entered into the military service, and fifty-one before he acted in the navy, he raised the maritime glory of England to a greater height than it had ever attained in any former period. Cromwell, fully sensible of his merit, ordered him a pompous funeral at the public expense; and people of all parties, by their tears bore testimony to his valour, generosity, and public spirit. *Life of Admiral Blake*, by Dr. Samuel Johnson. *Lives of the Admirals*, vol. ii.

⁵³ Thurloe, vol. vi.—Ludlow, vol. ii.—Burnet, vol. i.

hitherto a manifest usurpation, it was thought proper to sanctify it by a seeming choice of the people and their representatives. A new political system, under the appellation of an *humble Petition and Advice*, was accordingly framed by the parliament, and presented to the protector. It differed little from the *Instrument of Government*; but that being the work of the general officers only, was now represented as a rotten plank, upon which no man could trust himself with safety. Cromwell, therefore, accepted the *Petition and Advice*, as the voluntary deed of the whole people of the three united nations; and was again inaugurated in Westminster-hall, with great pomp and ceremony, as if his power had just taken its rise from this popular instrument⁵⁴.

Emboldened by the appearance of legal authority, the protector deprived Lambert and other factious officers of their commissions. His son Richard, a man of the most inoffensive, unambitious character, who had hitherto lived contentedly in the country, on a small estate, which he inherited in right of his wife, was now brought to court, introduced to public business, and generally regarded as heir to the protectorship. But the government was yet by no means settled. Cromwell, in consequence of that authority with which he was recently invested, having summoned a house of peers, or A. D. 1658. persons who were to act in that capacity, soon found that he had lost his authority among the national representatives, by exalting so many of his friends and adherents to the higher assembly. A decided majority, in the house of commons, refused to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the other house which he had framed, and even questioned the legality of the authority by which it was constituted; as the humble *Petition and Advice* had been voted by a parliament which lay under constraint, and was deprived by military force of a considerable number of its members. Dreading a combination between the commons and the malcontents in the army, the protector, with many expressions of anger and disappointment, dissolved the parliament⁵⁵. Feb. 4. When entreated by Fleetwood, and others of his friends, not to precipitate himself into so rash a measure, he swore by the living God that they should not sit a moment longer, be the consequences what they might.

This violent breach with the parliament left Cromwell no hopes of ever being able to establish, with general consent, a legal settlement, or to temper the military with any considerable mixture of civil authority: and to increase his uneasiness, a conspiracy was formed against him by the Millenarians in the

⁵⁴ Whitelocke.—Clarendon.

⁵⁵ Whitelocke.

army, under the conduct of Harrison and other discarded officers of that party. The royalists too, in conjunction with the heads of the Presbyterians, were encouraged to attempt an insurrection. Both these conspiracies, by his vigilance and activity, the protector was enabled to quell; but the public discontents were so great, that he was under continual apprehensions of assassination. He never moved a step without strong guards: he wore armour under his clothes, and farther secured himself by offensive weapons. He returned from no place by the direct road, or by the same way which he went; he performed every journey with hurry and precipitation: he seldom lay above three nights together in the same room, and he would not suffer it to be known before-hand in which chamber he intended to pass the night; nor did he trust himself in any apartment that was not provided with a back-door, where sentinels were carefully placed⁵⁶.

Equally uneasy in society and solitude, the protector's body began to be affected by the perturbation of his mind, and his health seemed visibly to decline. He was seized with a slow fever, which changed into a tertian ague, attended with dangerous symptoms; and he at length saw the necessity of turning his eye toward that future state of existence, the idea of which had at one time been intimately present to him, though lately somewhat obscured by the projects of ambition, the agitation of public affairs, and the pomp of worldly greatness. Conscious of this, he anxiously asked Goodwin, one of his favourite chaplains, if it was certain that the elect could never suffer a final reprobation. "On that you may with confidence rely," said Goodwin. "Then I am safe," replied Cromwell; "for I am sure that I once was in a state of grace!" Elate with new visitations and assurances, he began to believe that his life was out of all danger, notwithstanding the opinion of the most experienced physicians to the contrary. "I tell you," cried he to them, with great emotions,—"I tell you I shall not die of this disease! Favourable answers have been returned from Heaven, not only to my own supplications, but also to those of the godly, who carry on a more intimate correspondence with the Lord⁵⁷."

Notwithstanding this spiritual consolation, which proves that Cromwell, to the last, was no less an enthusiast than a hypocrite, his disorder put a period to his life and his fanatical illusions, while his inspired chaplains were employed in returning thanks to providence for the undoubted pledges which they re-

56 Ludlow.—Whitelocke —Bati. Elench.

57 Bati Elench. Motuum.—Thurloe, vol. vii.

ceived of his recovery⁵⁸!—and on the third of September, the day that had always been esteemed so fortunate to him, being the anniversary of the battles of Dunbar and Worcester. The most striking features of his character I have already delineated in tracing the progress of his ambition. It can, therefore, only be necessary here to combine the separate sketches, and conclude with some general remarks.

Oliver Cromwell, who died in the sixtieth year of his age, and who had risen from a private station to the absolute sovereignty of three ancient kingdoms, was of a robust but ungraceful make, and of a manly but clownish and disagreeable aspect. The vigour of his genius and the boldness of his spirit, rather than the extent of his understanding or the lustre of his accomplishments, first procured him distinction among his countrymen, and afterward made him the terror and admiration of Europe. His abilities, however, have been much overrated. Fortune had a considerable share in his most successful violences. The *Self-denying Ordinance*, and the conscientious weakness of Fairfax, led him, by easy steps, to the supreme command; and the enthusiastic folly of the covenanters served to confirm his usurped authority. But that authority could neither be acquired nor preserved without talents; and Cromwell was furnished with such as were admirably suited to the times in which he lived, and to the part he was destined to act. He possessed, in an eminent degree, the power of discerning the characters of men, and the rare felicity of employing their abilities to advantage; of discovering the motives of others, and of concealing his own; of blending the wildest fanaticism with the most profound policy; of reconciling a seeming incoherence of ideas with the most prompt and decisive measures, and of commanding the highest respect amid the lowest familiarity⁵⁹. By these talents, and a coincidence of interests, he was able to attach and to manage the military fanatics; and, by their assistance, to subdue the parliament, and tyrannize over the three kingdoms. But in all this there was nothing very extraordinary; for, as a well known historian observes, an army is so forcible, and at

58 Ibid. Goodwin, who, but a few minutes before the protector expired, (says Burnet) had pretended to assure the people, in a prayer, that he was not to die, had afterwards the impudence to say to God, "Thou hast deceived us! and we are deceived!" Hist. of his Own Times, vol. i.

59 Among his intimate friends, we are informed, he would frequently relax himself by trifling amusements—by jesting, or making burlesque verses: and he sometimes pushed matters to the length of coarse and rustic buffoonery, such as putting burning coals into the boots and hose of the officers who attended him, blacking their faces, or throwing cushions at them, which they did not fail to return. (Whitelocke. Ludlow. Bates.) It is also affirmed by the same authors, that, when he had a particular point to gain with the army, it was usual for him to take some of the most popular sergeants and corporals to bed with him, and to ply them in that scene of privacy with prayers and religious discourses.

the same time so rude a weapon, that any hand which wields it may, without much dexterity, perform any operation, and attain any ascendant in human society⁶⁰.

The moral character of Cromwell is by no means so exceptionable as it is generally represented. On the contrary, it is truly surprising, how he could temper such violent ambition, and such enraged fanaticism, with so much regard to justice and humanity. Even the murder of the king, his most atrocious measure, was to him covered under a cloud of republican and fanatical illusions; and it is possible that, like many others concerned in it, he considered it as the most meritorious action of his life. For it is the peculiar characteristic of fanaticism to give a sanction to any measure, however cruel and unjust, that tends to promote its own interests, which are supposed to be the same with those of the Deity; and to which, consequently, all moral obligations ought to give place.

60 Mr. Cowley expressed himself admirably on this subject. "If craft be wisdom, and dissimulation wit," says he, "I must not deny Cromwell to have been singular in both; but so gross was the manner in which he made use of them, that as wise men ought not to have believed him at first, so no man was fool enough to believe him at last: neither did any man seem to do it, but those who thought they gained as much by their dissembling as he did by his. His very actings of godliness grew at last as ridiculous, as if a player, by putting on a gown, should think that he excellently represented a woman, though his beard at the same time were seen by all the spectators. If you ask me why they did not hiss and explode him off the stage, I can only answer, that they durst not do so, because the actors and the door-keepers were too strong for the company." (*Discourse concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell.*) The military establishment, during Cromwell's administration, seldom consisted of less than forty thousand men. The foot soldiers had commonly a shilling, and the horsemen two shillings and six-pence a day. (Thurloe, vol. i. p. 395. vol. ii. p. 414.) This desirable maintenance, at a time when living was much cheaper than at present, induced the sons of farmers and small freeholders to enlist in the army, and proved a better security to the protector's authority than all his canting, praying, and insidious policy. Men who followed so gainful a profession were naturally attached to the person who encouraged it, and disinclined to the re-establishment of civil government, which would render it unnecessary.

Cromwell is said to have annually expended sixty thousand pounds in procuring private intelligence, and it was long supposed that he was intimately acquainted with the secret counsels of all the states of Europe; but, since the publication of Thurloe's *State Papers*, it appears, that this money was chiefly employed in procuring information of the intrigues of the royalists, and that the protector had little intelligence of foreign counsels, except those of Holland, which are not expected to be concealed.

LETTER X.

Continuation of the History of the Commonwealth of England, from the Death of Cromwell to the Restoration of the Monarchy.

IT was generally believed, that Cromwell's arts and policy were exhausted with his life ; that having so often, by fraud and false pretences, deceived every party, he could not much longer have maintained his authority. And when the potent hand, which had hitherto conducted the government of the commonwealth, was removed, every one expected that the unwieldy and ill-constructed machine would fall to pieces. All Europe, therefore, beheld with astonishment his son Richard, an inexperienced and unambitious man, quietly succeed to the protectorship. The council recognised his authority ; his brother Henry, who governed Ireland with popularity, secured to him the obedience of that kingdom ; and Monk, who still possessed the chief command in Scotland, there proclaimed the new protector without opposition. The fleet, the army, acknowledged his title : he received congratulatory addresses from the counties and most considerable corporations, in terms of the most dutiful allegiance, and foreign ministers were forward in paying him the usual compliments ; so that Richard, whose moderate temper would have led him to decline any contest for empire, was tempted to accept a sovereignty which seemed to be offered by universal consent.

But this consent, as Richard soon after had occasion to experience, was only a temporary acquiescence, until each party could concert measures, and act effectually for its own interest. On the meeting of the parliament, which it was found necessary to summon, in order to furnish supplies, ^{A.D. 1659.} the new protector found himself involved in inextricable difficulties. The most considerable officers of the army, and even Fleetwood his brother-in-law, and Desborow his uncle, who were extremely attached to republican principles, if not to the fifth monarchy or dominion of the saints, began to enter into cabals against him. Overton, Ludlow, Rich, and other officers whom Oliver had discarded, again made their appearance, and also declaimed against the dignity of protector ; and Lambert particularly inflamed by his intrigues, those dangerous humours,

so as to threaten the nation with some great convulsion. As the discontented officers usually met at Fleetwood's apartments, the party was denominated, from the place where he lived, *the Cabal of Wallingford house*¹.

Richard, who possessed neither vigour nor superior discernment, was prevailed upon, amid these commotions, to give his consent inadvertently to the calling of a general council of officers, who might make him proposals, as was pretended, for the good of the army. But they were no sooner assembled than they voted a remonstrance, in which they lamented, that *the good old cause*, as they termed it, was utterly neglected; and proposed as a remedy, that the whole military power should be vested in some person in whom they could all confide. The protector was justly alarmed at these military cabals, and the commons had no less reason to be so. They accordingly voted, that there should be no future meeting, or general council of officers, except with the protector's consent, or by his orders. This vote brought matters to extremity. The officers hastened to Richard, and rudely demanded the dissolution of the parliament. Unable to resist, and wanting resolution to deny, he complied with their request. With the parliament his authority was supposed to expire, and he soon after signed his resignation in form. His brother Henry, though endowed with greater abilities, also quietly resigned the government of Ireland². Thus, my dear Philip, fell from an enormous height, but (by rare fortune) without bloodshed, the family of the Cromwells, to that humble station from which they had risen. Richard retired to his estate in the country; and, as he had done hurt to no man, so no man ever attempted to hurt him³: a striking instance, as Burnet remarks, of the instability of human greatness, and of the security of innocence!

The council of officers now began to deliberate what form of government they should establish. Many of them seemed inclined to exercise the power of the sword in the most open

¹ Whitelocke.—Ludlow.

² Id. *ibid*.

³ Even after the restoration he remained unmolested. He thought proper, however, to travel for some years; and had frequently the mortification, while in disguise, to hear himself treated as a blockhead, for reaping no greater benefit from his father's crimes. But, being of a gentle, humane, and generous disposition, he wisely preferred the peace of virtue to the glare of guilty grandeur. When one of his partisans offered to put an end to the intrigues of the officers, by the death of Lambert, he rejected the proposal with horror. "I never will," said he, "purchase power and dominion by such sanguinary measures." He lived, in contentment and tranquillity, to an extreme old age, and died near the close of queen Anne's reign. He appears to have had nothing of the enthusiast about him; for we are informed, that, when murmurs had arisen against certain promotions in the army, he smartly replied, "What! would you have me prefer none but the golly? Now here is Dick Ingoldsby, who can neither pray nor preach; yet will I trust him before you all!" Ludlow's Mem.

manner ; but as it was apprehended that the people would with difficulty be induced to pay taxes levied by arbitrary will and pleasure. it was thought safer to preserve some shadow of civil authority. They accordingly agreed to revive the *Rump*, or that remnant of the long parliament which had been expelled by Cromwell ; in the hope that these members, having already felt their own weakness, would thenceforth be contented to act in subordination to the military commanders.

But in this expectation they were deceived. Though the parliament, without the officers of the army, consisted only of about forty independents (for the presbyterians were still excluded,) yet, as these were all men of violent ambition, May 7. and some possessed considerable experience and abilities, they resolved, since they enjoyed the title of supreme authority, not to act a subordinate part to those who acknowledged themselves their servants. They therefore elected a council, in which they took care that the members of the cabal of Wallingford-house should not be the majority. They appointed Fleetwood lieutenant-general, but inserted an express article in his commission, that it should continue only during the pleasure of the house. They chose seven persons, who were to fill up such commands as became vacant ; and they voted, that all commissions should be received from the speaker, and signed by him in the name of the house⁴.

These precautions, the purport of which was visible, gave great disgust to the principal military officers ; and their discontent would, in all probability, have immediately produced some resolution fatal to the parliament, had it not been checked by apprehensions of danger from the common enemy. The bulk of the nation now consisted of royalists and presbyterians. To both these parties the dominion of the pretended parliament. and of the army, had become equally obnoxious : a secret reconciliation, therefore, took place between them ; and it was agreed, that, former animosities being consigned to oblivion, every possible effort should be made for the overthrow of the *Rump*, and the restoration of the royal family. A resolution was accordingly taken, in many counties, to rise in arms ; and the king, attended by the duke of York, had secretly arrived at Calais, with an intention of putting himself at the head of his loyal subjects.

But this confederacy was disconcerted by the treachery of sir Richard Willis ; who, being much trusted by sir Edward Hyde, the king's chief counsellor, and by the principal royalists, was apprised of all the schemes of the party. He had been corrupted by Cromwell, whom he enabled to disconcert every enter-

⁴ Whitelocke.—Ludlow.—Clarendon.

prise against his usurped authority, by confining, before hand, the persons who were to be the actors in it ; and he continued the same traitorous correspondence with the parliament, without suspicion or discovery⁵. The protector, and Thurloe his secretary, now secretary to the parliament, were alone acquainted with his treachery⁶ ; and by the penetration and craft of Moreland, Thurloe's under secretary, the whole was at last discovered in sufficient time to put the king on his guard, though not to prevent the failure of the concerted insurrection. Many of the conspirators were thrown into prison ; and the only considerable party that had taken arms (under sir George Booth, who was not seasonably informed of the treachery of Willis,) and which had seized Chester, was dispersed by a body of troops under Lambert⁷.

Lambert's success hastened the ruin of the parliament. He transmitted a petition to the commons, demanding that Fleetwood should be appointed commander in chief, himself lieutenant-general, Desborow major-general of the horse, and Monk of the foot. The members, alarmed at the danger, voted that they would have no more general officers ; vacated Fleetwood's commission, and gave the command of the army to seven persons, of whom he was one. Sir Arthur Haselrig even proposed the impeachment of Lambert. But that artful and able general, despising such impotent resolutions, advanced with his hardy
Oct. 13. veterans to London ; and taking possession of all the streets that led to Westminster hall, intercepted the speaker, and excluded the other members from the house⁸.

Finding themselves once more possessed of the supreme authority, the substance of which they intended for ever to retain, though they might bestow on others the shadow, the officers elected a committee of twenty-three persons, of whom seven were of their own body. These they pretended to invest with sovereign power, under the name of a *Committee of Safety*. They frequently spoke of summoning a parliament chosen by the people, though nothing could be farther from their intentions ; but they really took some steps toward assembling a military parliament, composed of officers elected from every regi-

5 Burnet, vol. i.

6 *Ibid.*—This was one of the master-strokes of Cromwell's policy. Having all the king's party in a net, and pleased that the superior lenity of his administration should be remarked, he let them dance in it at pleasure ; and when he confined any of them, as he afterward restored them to liberty, his precaution passed only for the result of general jealousy and suspicion ; for he never brought any of them to trial, except for conspiracies that admitted the fullest proof.

7 Burnet, *ubi. sup.*

8 Ludlow, vol. ii.—Clarendon.

ment in the army⁹. The most melancholy apprehensions prevailed among the nobility and gentry, throughout the three kingdoms, of a general massacre and extermination; and, among the body of the people, of a perpetual and cruel servitude under those sanctified robbers, who threatened the extirpation of all private morality, as they had already expelled all public law and justice from the British dominions¹⁰.

While the British dominions were thus agitated with fears and intestine commotions, their lawful sovereign was wandering on the continent, a neglected fugitive. After leaving Paris, he went to Spa, and thence to Cologne, where he lived two years, on a small pension paid him by the court of France, and some contributions sent him by his friends in England. He next removed to Brussels, where he enjoyed certain emoluments from the Spanish government. Reduced to despair by the failure of every attempt for his restoration, he resolved to try the weak resource of foreign aid, and went to the Pyrenées, when the two prime ministers of France and Spain were in the midst of their negotiations. Don Louis de Haro received him with warm expressions of kindness, and intimated a desire of assisting him, if it had been consistent with the low condition of the Spanish monarchy; but the cautious Mazarine, pleading the alliance of France with the English republic, would not even have an interview with him¹¹.

At this very time, however, when Charles seemed abandoned by all the world, fortune was paving the way for him, by a surprising revolution, to mount the throne of his ancestors in peace and triumph. It was to general Monk that the king was to owe his restoration, and the three kingdoms the termination of their bloody dissensions. Of this man it will be proper to give some account.

George Monk, descended from an honourable but declining family in Devonshire, was properly a soldier of fortune. He had acquired military experience in Flanders, that great school of war to all the European nations; and though free from superstition and enthusiasm, and remarkably cool in regard to party, he had distinguished himself in the royal cause, during the civil wars of England, as colonel in the service of Charles I.; but being taken prisoner, and committed to the Tower, where he endured, for above two years, all the rigours of poverty and imprisonment, he was at last persuaded by Cromwell to enter into the service of the parliament, and sent, according to his agreement, to act against the Irish rebels; a command which, he flattered himself, was reconcileable to the strictest principles of honour. Hav-

⁹ Ludlow's Mem.¹⁰ Hurae, vol. vii.¹¹ Clarendon.

ing once, however, engaged with the parliament, he was obliged to obey orders, and found himself necessitated to act both against the marquis of Ormond in Ireland and against Charles II. in Scotland. On the reduction of the latter kingdom, he was gratified with the supreme command; and by the equity and justice of his administration, he acquired the good will of the Scots, at the same time that he kept their restless spirit in awe, and secured the attachment of his army¹².

The connexions which Monk had formed with Oliver kept him faithful to Richard Cromwell; and not being prepared for opposition, when the long parliament was restored, he acknowledged its authority, and was continued in his command. But no sooner was the parliament expelled by the army, than he protested against the violence: and resolving, as he pretended, to vindicate the invaded privileges of that body, though in reality he was disposed to effect the restoration of his sovereign, he collected his scattered forces, and declared his intention of marching into England. The Scots furnished him with a small, but seasonable supply of money, and he advanced toward the borders of the two kingdoms with a body of six thousand men. Lambert, he soon learned, was coming northward with a superior army; and, to gain time, he proposed an accommodation. The committee of safety fell into the snare. A treaty was signed by Monk's commissioners; but he refused to ratify it, under pretence that they had exceeded their powers, and drew the committee into a new negotiation.

In the mean time Haselrig and Morley took possession of Portsmouth, and declared for the parliament. That assembly Dec. 26. was restored; and, without taking any notice of Lambert, the commons sent orders to the forces under his command immediately to repair to certain garrisons which were appointed for their quarters. Lambert, being now deserted by the greater part of his troops, was sent to the Tower. A. D. 1660. The other officers, who had formerly been cashiered by the parliament, but who had resumed their commands, were confined to their houses; and sir Henry Vane, and some other members, who had concurred with the committee of safety, were ordered into a like confinement. Monk continued to advance with his army; and at last took up his quarters at Westminster. When introduced to the house, he declared, that, while on his march, he observed an anxious expectation of a settlement among all ranks of men; that they had no hope of such a bless-

¹² Gumble's Life of Monk — Ludlow's Memoirs. — Monk is said to have advised Cromwell to attack the Scots at Dunbar, even before they had left their mountainous situation. "They," observed he, in support of his opinion, "have numbers and the hills, we discipline and despair!" — a sentiment truly military, and devoid of that fanaticism which governed Cromwell on the occasion.

ing but from the dissolution of the present parliament, and the summoning a new one, free and full; which, meeting without oaths or engagements, might finally give contentment to the nation. And it would be sufficient, he added, for public security, as well as for liberty, if the fanatical party and the royalists were excluded¹³.

This speech, though not very agreeable to the assembly to which it was addressed, diffused general joy among the people. The hope of peace and concord broke, like the morning sun, from the darkness in which the nation was involved, and the memory of past calamities disappeared. The royalists and the presbyterians seemed to have but one wish, and equally to lament the dire effects of their calamitous divisions. The republican parliament, though reduced to despair, made a last effort for the recovery of its dominion. A committee was sent with offers to the general. Proposals were even made by some, though enemies to a supreme magistrate, for investing him with the dignity of protector; so great were their apprehensions of the royal resentment, or the fury of the people! He refused to hear them except in the presence of the secluded members; and having, in the mean time, opened a correspondence with the city of London, and placed its militia in sure hands, he pursued every measure proper for the settlement of the nation, though he still pretended to maintain republican principles.

The secluded members, encouraged by the general's declaration, went to the house of commons, and entering without obstruction, immediately found themselves to be Feb. 21. the majority. They began with repealing the ordinances by which they had been excluded: they renewed the general's commission, and enlarged his powers; they established a council of state, consisting chiefly of those men who, during the civil war, had made a figure among the presbyterians; and, after other expedient and seasonable votes, issued writs for a new parliament¹⁴.

The council of state conferred the command of the fleet on Montague, whose attachment to the royal family was well known; and thus secured the naval, as well as military force, in hands favourable to the projected revolution. But Monk, notwithstanding all these steps toward the re-establishment of monarchy, still maintained the appearance of zeal for a commonwealth; and had never declared otherwise than by his actions, that he had adopted the king's interests. At last a critical circumstance drew a confession from him. Sir John Granville, who had a commission from Charles, applied for access to the general, and absolutely refused to communicate his business

13 Gumble's Life of Monk.

14 Whitelocke.—Clarendon.

to any other person. Monk, pleased with his closeness, so conformable to his own temper, admitted Granville into his presence, and opened to him his full intentions. He refused, however, to commit any thing to writing; but delivered a verbal message, assuring the king of his services, giving advice for his conduct, and exhorting him instantly to leave the Spanish territories, lest he should be detained as a pledge for the restitution of Dunkirk and Jamaica¹⁵.

The elections for the new parliament were highly favourable to the friends of monarchy, for, although the parliament had voted, that no one should be elected who had himself, or whose father had, borne arms for the late king, little regard was paid to this ordinance. The passion for liberty, which had been carried to such violent extremes, and produced such bloody commotions, began to give place to a spirit of loyalty and obedience. The earl of Manchester, lord Fairfax, lord Roberts, Denzil Holles, sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, and other leaders of the presbyterians, resolved to atone for their past transgressions by their present zeal for the royal cause¹⁶. Nor were the affairs of Ireland in a condition less favourable to the restoration of monarchy. Lord Broghill, president of Munster, and sir Charles Coote, president of Connaught, had even gone so far as to enter into a correspondence with the king; and, in conjunction with sir Theophilus Jones, and other officers, they took possession of the government, and excluded general Ludlow, an able officer, who was zealous for the parliament¹⁷.

These promising views had almost been blasted by some critical circumstances. On the admission of the secluded members into parliament the heads of the republican faction were seized with the deepest despair, and endeavoured to rouse the army against the ruling party; and, while their persuasions were operating upon the troops, Lambert made his escape from the Tower. Monk and the council, acquainted with his vigour and activity, as well as with his popularity in the army, were thrown into the utmost consternation at this event. But happily colonel Ingoldsby, who was immediately despatched after him, overtook him at Daventry, before he had assembled any considerable force, and brought him back to his place of confinement. In a few days he would have been formidable.

At the meeting of the parliament, the leading members exerted themselves chiefly in bitter invectives against the memory of Cromwell, and in execrations against the inhuman murder of the late king; no one yet daring to make any mention of the second Charles. At length the general, having sufficiently

15 Clarendon

16 Clarendon,—Whitelocke.

17 Clarendon.—Whitelocke.

sounded the inclinations of the commons, desired the president of the council to inform them, that sir John Granville was at the door with a letter from his majesty to the parliament. The loudest acclamations resounded through the house on this intelligence. Granville was called in ; and the letter, accompanied with a declaration, was eagerly read. The declaration was well calculated to promote the joy inspired by the prospect of a settlement. It offered a general amnesty, leaving particular exceptions to be made by the parliament : it promised liberty of conscience : it assured the soldiers of their arrears, and the same pay they then enjoyed : and it submitted to parliamentary arbitration, an inquiry into all grants, purchases, and alienations¹⁸.

The peers perceiving the spirit with which the nation was animated, hastened to reinstate themselves in their ancient rights, and take their share in the settlement of the government. They found the doors of their house open, and were all admitted without exception. The two houses attended while the king was proclaimed in Palace-yard, at Whitehall, and at Temple-bar ; and a committee of lords and commons were despatched to invite his majesty to return, and take possession of the kingdom. The respect of foreign powers soon followed the allegiance of his own subjects ; and the formerly neglected Charles was, at the same time, invited by France, Spain, and the United Provinces, to embark at one of their sea-ports. He chose to accept the invitation of the Dutch, and had the satisfaction, as he passed from Breda to the Hague, to be received with the loudest acclamations. The states-general, in a body, made their compliments to him with the greatest solemnity ; and all ambassadors and foreign ministers expressed the joy of their masters at his change of fortune¹⁹.

The English fleet came in sight of Scheveling; and Montague, who had not waited the orders of the parliament, persuaded the officers to tender their duty to their sovereign. The king went on board, and the duke of York took the command of the fleet, as high admiral. When Charles disembarked at Dover, he was received by general Monk, whom he cordially embraced, and honoured with the appellation of Father. He entered London on his birth day, amid the acclamations of an innumerable multitude of people, who expressed the most sincere satisfaction at the restoration of their ancient constitution and their native prince, without the effusion of blood²⁰.

We must now, my dear Philip, take a retrospective view of

18 Parl. Hist. vol. xxii.
20 Whitelocke, — Clarendon.

19 Clarendon.

the progress of navigation, commerce, and colonisation, before we carry farther the general transactions of Europe. Without such a survey, we should never be able to judge distinctly of the interests, claims, quarrels, and treaties of the several European nations.

LETTER XI.

Of the Progress of Navigation, Commerce, and Colonisation, from the Beginning of the Sixteenth to the Middle of the Seventeenth Century.

THE discoveries and conquests of the Portuguese in the East Indies, and of the Spaniards in America, soon excited the ardour, the avarice, and the ambition of other European nations. The English and Dutch were particularly tempted, by their maritime situation and commercial spirit, as well as by their great progress in navigation, to use every effort to share the riches of the east and west; and the Reformation, by abolishing the papal jurisdiction, left them free from religious restraints. Nor did the Dutch long want such motives as arose from necessity, for entering into a competition with the ravagers of the New World and the conquerors of India, in those distant seats of their wealth and power. Before I relate the bold enterprises of these republicans, however, it will be proper to trace the farther progress of the Portuguese and Spaniards in navigation, commerce, and colonisation¹.

No sooner had Cortez completed the conquest of the Mexican empire, than he ordered ship-builders to repair to A. D. 1521. Zacatula, a port on the South Sea, in order to equip a fleet destined for the Molucca islands. From their trade with those islands the Portuguese drew immense wealth; all which he hoped to secure for the crown of Castile, by a shorter navigation². But he was ignorant, that, during the progress of his victorious arms in the New World, the very plan he was attempting to execute had been prosecuted with success by a navigator in the service of his country.

Ferdinand Magellan, a Portuguese gentleman, who had acted several years in the East Indies with distinguished valour, as an

¹ For an account of their first discoveries and conquests. See Part I. Let. LIX.

² Herrera, dec. III. lib. ii. c. x.

officer under the famous Albuquerque, disgusted with his general, and slighted by his sovereign, renounced his allegiance to an ungrateful master, and fled to the court of Spain, in hopes that his merit would there be more justly estimated. He endeavoured to recommend himself by reviving Columbus's original project of discovering a passage to India by a westerly course, without encroaching on that portion of the globe which had been allotted to the Portuguese by the pope's line of demarcation. Cardinal Ximenes, who at that time directed the Spanish councils, listened with a favourable ear to Magellan's proposal, and recommended it to his master Charles V. who, entering into the measure with ardour, honoured Magellan with the habit of St. Jago and the title of Captain-general, and furnished him with five ships, victualled for two years.

With this squadron Magellan sailed from Seville on the 10th of August, 1519; and after touching at the Canaries, stood directly south, toward the equinoxial, along the coast of America. But he was so long retarded by tedious calms, and spent so much time in searching every bay and inlet, for that communication with the South Sea which he wished to discover, that he did not reach the river de la Plata before the 12th of January, 1520. Allured to enter by the spacious opening through which that vast body of water pours itself into the Atlantic, he sailed up it for some days; but concluding at last, from the shallowness of the stream, and the freshness of the water, that the wished-for strait was not situated there, he returned and continued his course toward the south. On the 31st of March he arrived at Port St. Julian, about forty-eight degrees south of the line, where he resolved to winter, the severe season then coming on in those latitudes. Here he lost one of his ships; and his men suffered so much from the excessive rigour of the climate, that they insisted on his relinquishing the visionary project, and returning to Europe. But Magellan, by ordering the principal mutineer to be assassinated, and another to be publicly executed, overawed the remainder of his followers, and continued his voyage toward the south. In holding this course, he at length discovered, near the fifty-third degree of latitude, the mouth of a strait, into which he entered, notwithstanding the murmurs of his officers. After sailing twenty days in that winding dangerous passage, which still bears his name, and where one of his ships deserted him, the great Southern Ocean opened to his view, and inspired him with new hopes, while his adventurous soul effused itself to Heaven in a transport of joy for the success which had already attended his endeavours³.

Magellan, however, was still at a great distance from the object of his wishes ; and greater far than he imagined. Three months and twenty days did he sail in an uniform direction toward the north-west, without discovering land ; during which voyage, the longest that had ever been made in the unbounded ocean, his people suffered incredible distress from scarcity of provisions, putrid water, and all their attendant maladies. One circumstance, and one only, afforded them some consolation : they enjoyed an uninterrupted course of fair weather, with such mild winds as induced Magellan to bestow on that ocean the epithet of *pacific*. At length they fell in with a cluster of small islands, which afforded them refreshments in such abundance that their health was soon restored. From these islands, which he called *Ladrones*, he continued his voyage, and soon made a discovery of the *Manillas*. In *Zebu*, one of the last mentioned group, he had an unfortunate quarrel with the natives, who attacked him with a numerous body of well armed troops ; and while he fought gallantly at the head of his men, he was slain, with several of his officers, by those fierce barbarians⁴.

On the death of this great navigator, the expedition was prosecuted under different commanders. They encountered many difficulties in ranging among the smaller islands scattered in the eastern part of the Indian Ocean, touched at the great island of *Borneo*, and at last landed at *Tidore*, one of the *Moluccas*, to the astonishment of the Portuguese ; who, ignorant of the figure of the earth, could not comprehend how the Spaniards, by holding a westerly course, had reached that sequestered seat of their most valuable commerce, which they themselves here discovered by sailing in an opposite direction!—At this, and the adjacent islands, the Spaniards found a people acquainted with the benefits of extensive trade, and willing to open an intercourse with a new nation. They took in a cargo of spices, the distinguished produce of those islands ; and with other specimens of the commodities yielded by the rich countries which they had visited, the *Victory* (which, of the remaining ships was most fit for a long voyage) set sail for Europe, under the command of *Juan Sebastian del Cano*. He followed the course of the Portuguese by the *Cape of Good Hope* ; and, after a variety of disasters, arrived at *St. Lucar*⁵.

The Spanish merchants eagerly engaged in the attractive commerce which was thus unexpectedly opened to them ; while their men of science were employed in demonstrating, that the *Spice-islands* were so situated as to belong to the crown of *Castile*, in consequence of the partition made by pope *Alexander*

⁴ Herrera, dec. II. lib. ix. c. 3.

⁵ Herrera, dec. II. lib. ix. c. 3.

VI. But the Portuguese, alarmed at the intrusion of such formidable rivals, remonstrated and negotiated in Europe, at the same time that they obstructed in Asia the trade of the Spaniards; and Charles V., always poor, notwithstanding his great resources, and unwilling to add a rupture with Portugal to the war in which he was then engaged, A. D. 1529. made over to that crown his claim to the Moluccas for a sum of money⁶.

In consequence of this agreement, the Portuguese continued undisturbed, and without a rival, masters of the trade of India; and the Manillas lay neglected, till Philip II. succeeded to the crown of Spain. Soon after his accession, he formed the scheme of planting a colony in those islands, to which he gave the name of the Philippines. This he accomplished by means of an armament fitted out for New Spain. A. D. 1555. Manilla, in the island of Luçonia, was the station chosen for the capital of the new establishment; and in order to induce the Spaniards to settle there, the rising colony was authorised to send the commodities of India to America, in exchange for the precious metals⁷.

From Manilla an active commercial intercourse began with the Chinese, and a considerable number of that industrious people, allured by the prospect of gain, settled in the Philippines under the Spanish protection. By their means the colony was so amply supplied with all the valuable productions and manufactures of the East, that it was soon enabled to open an advantageous trade with America by a course of navigation the longest from land to land on our globe⁸. This trade was originally carried on with Callao, the port of Lima, and the most commodious harbour on the coast of Peru; but experience having discovered many difficulties in that mode of communication, and the superior facility of an intercourse with New Spain, the staple of the commerce between America and Asia was removed from Callao to Acapulco⁹.

6 Herrera, dec. III. lib. iv. c. 5.

7 When Philip granted this indulgence, unless he meant afterward to withdraw it, he was certainly little acquainted with the commercial interest of Old Spain.

8 Torquemada, lib. v. c. 14.—Robertson's Hist. of Amer. book viii.

9 Many remonstrances have been presented against this trade, as detrimental to Old Spain, by diverting into another channel a large portion of that treasure which ought to flow into the parent kingdom: as tending to give rise to a spirit of independence in the colonies, and to encourage innumerable frauds, against which it is impossible to guard, in transactions so far removed from the inspection of government. But as it requires no slight effort of political wisdom and vigour to abolish any practice which numbers are interested in supporting, and to which time has added the sanction of its authority, the commerce between Acapulco and Manilla is still carried on to a considerable extent, and allowed under certain restrictions.

The Spanish colony in the Philippines, having no immediate connexions with Europe, gave no uneasiness to the Portuguese, and received no annoyance from them. In the mean time the Portuguese not only continued to monopolise the commerce of the East, but were masters of the coast of Guinea as well as that of Arabia, Persia, and the two peninsulas of India. They possessed the Molluccas, Ceylon, and the isles of Sunda, with the trade of China and Japan; and they had made their colony of Brazil, which occupies the immense territory that lies between the isle of Maragnan and the Rio de la Plata, one of the most valuable districts in America. But like all nations which have suddenly acquired great riches, the Portuguese began to feel the enfeebling effects of luxury and effeminacy. That hardy valour, which had subdued so many nations, existed no longer among them: they were with difficulty brought to fight, except where there was a prospect of plunder. Corruption prevailed in all the departments of government, and the spirit of rapine among all ranks of men. At the same time that they gave themselves up to all those excesses which make usurpers hated, they wanted courage to make themselves feared. Equally detested in every quarter, they at length saw themselves ready to be expelled from India by a confederacy of the princes of the country; and, although they were able, by a desperate effort, to break this storm, their destruction was at hand¹⁰.

When Portugal fell under the dominion of Spain, in consequence of the fatal catastrophe of Don Sebastian and his gallant nobles on the coast of Africa, Philip became possessed of greater resources than any monarch in ancient or modern times. But instead of employing his enormous wealth in providing for the security, the happiness, and the prosperity of his widely extended empire, he profusely dissipated it, in endeavouring to render himself as despotic in Europe as he was already in America, and in no inconsiderable portion of Asia and Africa. While he was employed in this ambitious project, his possessions in India were neglected; and as the Portuguese hated the dominion of the Spaniards, they paid little attention to the security of their settlements. No one pursued any other object than his own immediate interest: there was no union, no zeal for the public good¹¹.

Affairs could not continue long in this state; and a new regulation, in regard to trade, completed the ruin of the Portuguese settlements in India. Philip, whose bigotry and despotism had

¹⁰ Faria y Sousa, lib. v. cap. 1.—Guyon, Hist. des Ind. Orient. tome iii.

¹¹ Id. ibid.

induced him to attempt to deprive the inhabitants of the Low Countries of their civil and religious liberties, in order more effectually to accomplish his aim, prohibited his new subjects from holding any correspondence with the revolted provinces. A. D. 1594.

This was a severe blow to the trade of the Hollanders, which consisted chiefly, as at present, in supplying the wants of one nation with the produce of another. Their merchants, eager to augment their commerce, had gotten the trade of Lisbon into their hands. There they purchased the goods of India, which they sold in the sequel to the different states of Europe. They were therefore struck with consternation at a prohibition, which excluded them from so essential a branch of their trade; and Philip did not foresee, that a restriction, by which he hoped to weaken the Dutch, would, in the end, render them more formidable. Had they been permitted to continue their intercourse with Portugal, there is reason to believe that they would have contented themselves with their commerce in the European seas; but finding it impossible to preserve their trade without the commodities of the East, they resolved to seek them at the original market, as they were deprived of every other¹².

In consequence of this resolution, the Hollanders fitted out some ships for India; and, after an unsuccessful attempt to find a passage thither through the North Sea, they proceeded by the Cape of Good Hope, under the direction of Cornelius Houtman, a Dutch merchant, who had resided some time at Lisbon, and made himself perfectly acquainted with every thing relative to the object of his voyage. His success, though by no means extraordinary, encouraged the merchants of Amsterdam to form the project of establishing a settlement in the island of Java. Admiral Van Neck, who was sent on that important expedition with eight ships, found the inhabitants of Java prejudiced against his countrymen. They permitted him, however, to trade; and having sent home four vessels laden with spices, and other India commodities, he sailed to the Moluccas, where he met with a more favourable reception. The natives, he learned, had forced the Portuguese to abandon some places, and only waited an opportunity of expelling them from the rest. He entered into a treaty with some of the sovereigns, established factories in several of the islands, and returned to Europe with his remaining ships richly laden¹³. A. D. 1599.

¹² *Advertissement, à la tête du Recueil des Voyages, qui ont servi à l'Establissement et aux Progrès de la Campagne des Indes Orientales.*

¹³ *Id. ibid.*

The success of this voyage spread the most extravagant joy over the United Provinces. New associations were daily formed for carrying on the trade to India, and new fleets fitted out from every port of the republic. But the ardour of forming these associations, though terrible to the Portuguese, who never knew when they were in safety, or where they could with certainty annoy the enemy, had almost proved the ruin of the Dutch trade to the East. The rage of purchasing raised the value of commodities in Asia, and the necessity of selling made them bear a low price in Europe. The adventurers were in danger of falling a sacrifice to their own efforts, and to their A. D. 1602. laudable jealousy and emulation, when the wisdom of government saved them from ruin, by uniting the different societies into one great body, under the name of the *East India Company*¹⁴.

This company, which was invested with authority to make peace or war with the Indian princes, to erect forts, choose governors, maintain garrisons, and nominate officers for the conduct of the police and the administration of justice, set out with great advantages. The incredible number of vessels fitted out by the private associations had contributed to make all the branches of eastern commerce perfectly understood, to form many able officers and seamen, and to encourage the most reputable citizens to become members of the new company. Fourteen ships were accordingly fitted out for India, under the command of admiral Warwick, whom the Dutch consider as the founder of their lucrative commerce and powerful establishments in the east. He erected a factory in the island of Java, and secured it by fortifications: he founded another in the territories of the king of Jabor, and formed alliances with several princes in Bengal. He had frequent engagements with the Portuguese, in which he was generally successful¹⁵. A furious war ensued between the two nations.

During this war, which lasted for many years, the Dutch frequently sent to India fresh supplies of men and ships, while the Portuguese received no succours from Europe. Spain, it should seem, wished to humble her new subjects, whom she did not think sufficiently submissive, and to perpetuate her authority over them by the ruin of their wealth and power: she neither repaired their fortifications nor renewed their garrisons. Yet the scale remained even for a while, and the success was various on both sides; but the persevering Hollanders, by their unwearied efforts, at length deprived the Portuguese of Ceylon, the Moluc-

¹⁴ Voyages de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales.—Salengre, Essai d'une Hist. des Prov. Unies.

¹⁵ Salengre, ubi sup.

cas, and all their valuable possessions in the East, except Goa, at the same time that they acquired the almost exclusive trade of China and Japan. The island of Java, however, where they had erected their first fortifications, and early built the splendid city of Batavia, continued to be, as it is at present, the seat of their principal settlement, and the centre of their power in India.

But these new republicans, flushed with success, were not satisfied with their acquisitions in the east. They turned their eyes also toward the west : they established a colony, to which they gave the name of Nova-Belgia, on Hudson's River, in North America; they annoyed the trade, and plundered the settlements of the Spaniards, in every part of the New World; and they made themselves masters of the important colony of Brazil in South America. But this was not a permanent conquest. When the Portuguese had shaken off the Spanish yoke in Europe, they bore with impatience in America that of the Dutch; they rose against their oppressors; and after a variety of struggles, obliged them finally to evacuate Brasil, in 1654¹⁶. Since that æra the Portuguese have continued in possession of this rich territory, the principal support of their declining monarchy, and the most valuable European settlement in America.

The English East India Company was established as early as the year 1600, and with a fair prospect of success. A fleet, consisting of five stout ships, was fitted out the year following, under the command of James Lancaster; who was favourably received by the king of Achen, and other Indian princes, with whom he formed a commercial treaty, and arrived in the Downs, after a prosperous voyage of near two years. Other voyages were performed with equal advantage. But notwithstanding these temporary encouragements, the English had to struggle with many difficulties, and laboured under essential inconveniences. Their rivals, the Portuguese and Dutch, had harbours of which they were absolute masters: towns which they had built, and secured by garrisons and regular fortifications; whole provinces, of which they had acquired possession either by force or fraud, and over which they exerted an arbitrary sway. Their trade was therefore protected, not only against the violence or caprice of the natives of India, but also against the attempts of new competitors. They had every opportunity of getting a good sale for the commodities which they carried out from Europe, and of purchasing those they brought home at a moderate price; whereas the English, who at first acted merely as fair traders, having none of these advantages, were at once exposed to the uncertainty of general markets, which were frequently anticipated or overstocked to the variable humour of the na-

tives, and to the imperious will of their European rivals, who had the power of excluding them from the principal ports of the East¹⁷.

In order to remedy these inconveniences, the English company saw the necessity of departing from their original principles, and of opposing force by force. But as such an effort was beyond the resources of an infant society, they hoped to receive assistance from government. In this reasonable expectation, however, they were disappointed by the weak and timid policy of James I. who only enlarged their charter; yet, by their activity, perseverance, and the judicious choice of their officers, and other servants, they not only maintained their trade, but erected forts and established factories in the islands of Java, Poleron, Amboyna, and Banda¹⁸.

The Dutch were alarmed at these establishments. Having driven the Portuguese from the Spice-islands, they never meant to suffer any European nation to settle there; much less a people, whose maritime force, government, and character, would make them dangerous rivals. They accordingly endeavoured to dispossess the English by all possible means. They began with attempting, by calumnious accusations, to render them odious to the natives of the countries where they had settled. But finding these shameful expedients ineffectual, they had recourse to violence; and the Indian Ocean became a scene of the most bloody engagements between the maritime forces of the two companies¹⁹.

At length an attempt was made to put a period to those hostilities by a very remarkable treaty, which reflects little honour on the political sagacity either of the English or Dutch, if the latter, as is alleged, did not mean it as a veil to their future violences. It was agreed that the Moluccas, Amboyna, and Banda, should belong in common to the companies of the two nations; that the English should have one third, and the Dutch two-thirds of the produce, at a fixed price; that each, in proportion to their interest, should contribute to the defence of those islands; that this treaty should remain in force twenty years, during which the entire trade of India should remain equally free to both nations, neither of them endeavouring to injure the other by separate fortifications, or clandestine treaties with the natives; and that all disputes, which could not be accommodated by the councils of the companies, should be finally settled and determined by the king of Great Britain and the States-General of the United Provinces²⁰.

17 Hist. Gen. des Voyages, tome ii.—Raynal, tome i.

18 Harleian Collect. of Voyages, vol. viii.

19 Harleian Collect. of Voyages, vol. viii. 20 Id. *ibid*.

The fate of this treaty was such as might have been expected from one party or the other. The avarice of the Dutch prompted them to take advantage of the confidential security of the English, and to plunder the factories of Lantore and Pole-ron, after exercising the most atrocious cruelties on the servants of the company. The supineness of the English government encouraged them to act the same tragedy, accompanied with still more horrid circumstances of barbarity, at Amboyna²¹: where confessions of a pretended A. D. 1623. conspiracy were obtained by tortures at which humanity shudders, and which ought never to be forgotten or forgiven by Englishmen.

In consequence of these unexpected violences, for which the feeble administration of James I. obtained no reparation, the English were obliged to abandon the Spice islands to the rapacity of the Dutch; and though they were less unfortunate on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, the civil wars which convulsed England in the reign of Charles I. and which took off all attention from distant objects, reduced the affairs of their company to a very low condition. Their trade revived during the commonwealth; and Cromwell, on the conclusion of the war with Holland, obtained several stipulations in their favour; but which, from the confusions that ensued, were never executed. On the accession of Charles II. they hoped to recover their consequence in India. But that needy and profligate prince, who is said to have betrayed their interests to the Dutch for a bribe, cruelly extorted loans from them, at the same time that he injured their trade, by selling licenses to interlopers; and by these means reduced them to the brink of ruin.

The English were more successful in establishing themselves, during this period, in North America and the West Indies. As early as the year 1496, John Cabot, a Venetian mariner, in the service of Henry VII. had discovered the Island of Newfoundland, and sailed along the shores of the North American continent, from the Gulf of St. Laurence to cape Florida. But no advantage was taken of these discoveries before the middle of the reign of Elizabeth; when the bigotry and ambition of Philip roused the indignation of all the Protestant powers, but more especially of England, and incited many bold adventurers to commit hostilities against his subjects in the New World. Of these the most distinguished was sir Francis Drake; who, having acquired considerable wealth by his depredations against the Spaniards on the Isthmus of Darien, passed with four ships into the South Sea, by the strait of Magellan, captured some rich vessels, and returned to England, in 1580, by the Cape of

Good Hope²². His success excited the avidity of new adventurers; and the knowledge which was, by these means, acquired of the different parts of the American continent, suggested to the celebrated sir Walter Raleigh the idea of a settlement within the limits of the coasts formerly visited by Cabot.

A company was accordingly formed for that purpose, in consequence of Raleigh's magnificent promises; a patent was obtained from the queen, conformable to their views, and two ships were sent out, commanded by Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, in 1584. They came to anchor in the bay of Roanoke, in the country now known by the name of North Carolina, of which they took formal possession for the crown of England. On their return they gave so favourable an account of the climate, soil, and temper of the inhabitants, that a colony was planted in the following year; and Elizabeth, to encourage the undertaking, honoured the colony with the name of VIRGINIA, in allusion to her favourite but much disputed virtue.

This settlement, however, did not prosper, and it was abandoned in 1588. From that time to the year 1606, when two new companies were chartered by James I. no attempt appears to have been made by the English to settle on the coast of North America. One of the new companies consisted of adventurers residing in the city of London, who were desirous of settling towards the south, or in what is at present called Virginia; and the other, of adventurers belonging to Plymouth, Bristol, and Exeter, who chose the country more to the North, or what is now called New England. The London Company immediately fitted out two vessels, under the command of Christopher Newport, an able and experienced mariner, with a hundred and ten adventurers on board, and all kinds of implements for building and agriculture, as well as the necessary arms for their defence. After a tedious voyage, and many discontents among the future colonists, their little squadron reached the bay of Chesapeak. One of the adventurers, in the name of the whole, was appointed to treat with the natives; from whom he obtained leave to plant a colony on a convenient spot, about fifty miles from the mouth of the river Powhatan, by the English called James River. Here they erected a slight fort, barricaded with trunks of trees, and surrounded by a number of little huts, to which they gave the name of James Town, in honour of the king²³. Such was the slender beginning of the colony of Virginia; which, though it had to struggle at first with many difficulties, became, even before the Restoration, of very great national consequence.

22 Hackluyt's Collect. vol. iii.

23 Smith's Hist. of Virginia.

Virginia owed its rapid prosperity chiefly to the culture of tobacco, its staple commodity, and to the number of royalists that took refuge there, in order to escape the tyranny of the parliament. Similar causes gave population and prosperity to the neighbouring province of Maryland. This territory being granted by Charles I. to Cecil lord Baltimore, a catholic nobleman (whose father, sir George Calvert, had sought an asylum in Newfoundland, in order to enjoy the free exercise of his religion,) he formed the scheme of a settlement where he might not only enjoy liberty of conscience himself, but also be enabled to grant it to such of his friends as should prefer an easy banishment with freedom, to the conveniences of England, embittered as they then were by the sharpness of the laws against sectaries, and the popular odium that hung over papists. The project succeeded; the catholics flocked to the new settlements in great numbers, especially on the decline of the royal cause; and Maryland soon became a flourishing colony²⁴. A. D. 1632.

New England owed its rise to similar circumstances. A small body of the most enthusiastic puritans, afterwards known by the name of Independents, in order to avoid the severity of the English laws against non-conformity, had taken refuge in Holland in the reign of James I. But although Holland is a country of the greatest religious freedom, they were not better satisfied there than in England. They were tolerated indeed, but watched; their zeal began to have dangerous languors for want of opposition, and, being without power or consequence, they grew tired of the indolent security of their sanctuary. They were desirous of removing to a country where they should see no superior. With this view, they applied to the Plymouth Company, for a patent of part of the territory included in its grant. Pleased with this application, the company readily complied; and these pious adventurers having made the necessary preparations for their voyage, embarked in one ship, in 1620, to the number of a hundred and twenty persons, and landed at a place near Cape Cod, where they built a town to which they gave the name of New Plymouth²⁵. Other adventurers, of the same complexion, followed those²⁶; and New England, in less

²⁴ Douglas's Summary, Part II. sect. xv.

²⁵ Douglas.—Hutcheson.

²⁶ Among the number of persons so disposed, we are told, appeared John Hampden and Oliver Cromwell, who were only prevented from executing their purpose of going into voluntary exile, by a royal proclamation, issued after they were on shipboard, in 1637, prohibiting future emigrations, without a license from the privy council. (Neale's History of the Puritans, vol. ii.) The exultation of the puritanical writers on this subject is excessive. They ascribe all the subsequent misfortunes of Charles I., in connexion with the scheme of providence, to that tyrannical edict, as they are pleased to call it. (Neale, *ubi sup.* Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell, &c.) Nor can the speculative politician refrain from indulging a con-

than fifty years, became a great and populous colony, consisting of several independent governments, which were little inclined to acknowledge the authority of the mother country.

Besides these large colonies in North America, the English had established a colony at Surinam, on the coast of Guiana, in South America, and taken possession of several of the West Indian islands, early in the seventeenth century. Barbadoes and St. Christopher's were thriving colonies before the conquest of Jamaica; and the rapid cultivation of that large and fertile island, which had been much neglected by the Spaniards, with the improvement of her other plantations in the West Indies, soon gave England the command of the sugar trade of Europe²⁷.

For the benefits of this, however, and of her whole colonial trade, England is ultimately indebted to the sagacity of the heads of the commonwealth parliament. They perceived that those subjects, who, from various motives, had taken refuge in America, would be lost to the parent state, if the ships of foreign powers were not excluded from the ports of the plantations. The discussion of that important point, with other political considerations, led to the famous Navigation Act, which A. D. 1651. prohibited all foreign ships, unless under some particular exceptions, from entering the harbours of the English colonies, and obliged their principal produce to be exported directly to countries under the dominion of England.

Before this regulation, which was with difficulty submitted to by some of the colonies, and frequently evaded by the fanatical and factious inhabitants of New England, the colonists used to send their produce to any country where they thought it could be most advantageously disposed of, and indiscriminately admitted into their harbours ships of all nations. In consequence of that unlimited freedom, the greater part of their trade had fallen into the hands of the Dutch, who, by reason of the low

jecture on the possible consequences of the emigration of two such extraordinary men, with that of others who would have followed them, at such a crisis. Charles, roused to arms, but not crushed, by the parliament, might have established absolute sovereignty in England; while Hampden might have founded a commonwealth, or Cromwell erected a military despotism in America. Possessed of a vast country, (for wherever they had gone they must have become leaders,) they would never have submitted to the control of any power on this side of the Atlantic. The work of ages would have been accomplished in a few years. Sooner than have borne such control, Hampden would have taken refuge in the woods; have associated with the wild natives, and enrolled them among the number of his citizens. Cromwell, in such an emergency, would also have led his fanatical herd into the bosom of the forests; have hunted with the savages; have preached to them; have converted them; and, when he had made them Christians, they would have found they were slaves!—Though destitute of the talents of a Hampden or a Cromwell, the emigrants to the northern plantations had strongly imbibed those sentiments of political as well as religious independence, which they have ever since continued to cherish.

²⁷ Account of the European Settlements in America, vol. ii.

interest of money in Holland, and the reasonableness of their port duties, could afford to buy at the dearest, and sell at the cheapest rate ; and who secured the profits of a variety of productions, which they had neither planted nor gathered²⁸. The Navigation Act remedied this evil ; and the English parliament, though aware of the inconveniences of such a regulation to the colonies, were not alarmed at its probable effects. They considered the empire only as a tree, whose sap must be returned to the trunk, when it flows too freely to some of the branches.

To all those settlements England thenceforth exported, without a rival, her various manufactures. From her islands in the West Indies they passed to the Spanish Main, whence large sums were returned in exchange ; and, as it was long before the inhabitants of her Trans-Atlantic provinces began to think of manufacturing for themselves, the export thither was very great. Nor was her trade confined merely to America and the East and West Indies. About the middle of the sixteenth century she had opened a beneficial trade to Russia, by discovering a passage round the North Cape ; and the ingenuity of her manufacturers, who now excelled the Flemings, to whom the greater part of her wool used formerly to be sold, ensured her a market for her cloths in all the ports of the Mediterranean and the Baltic.

France, though so distinguished in the sequel for her commerce and naval power, was late in establishing any permanent colony. She had yet no settlement in the East Indies ; the colony of Canada was only in its infancy ; her settlements in Hispaniola were not formed ; and the plantations in Martinique and Guadaloupe were very inconsiderable. Nor had her silk-manufacture yet attained that high degree of perfection which afterward rendered it so great a source of wealth.

Spain continued to receive annually immense sums from the mines of Mexico and Peru. Contiguous settlements and new governments were frequently formed, and the demand for European goods was excessive. But, as the decline of their manufactures obliged the Spaniards to depend upon foreigners for the supply of that demand, their wealth became the common property of Europe. The industrious manufacturer of every country had his share ; and the conquerors of the New World dwindled into the factors of England and Holland.

Such, my dear Philip, was the commercial state of Europe, when Louis XIV. assumed the reins of government, and Charles II. was restored to the throne

A. D. 1660.

of his ancestors. War continued to rage between the Spaniards and Portuguese ; but, after an ambitious struggle of twenty-eight years, Spain was obliged to acknowledge, in 1668, the right of the family of Braganza to the crown of Portugal. The rest of Europe was in a state of peace.

LETTER XII.

A general View of the Affairs of Europe, with a particular Account of those of England, from the Restoration of Charles II. in 1660, to the Triple Alliance, in 1668.

NO prince ever had it more in his power to render himself the favourite of his people, and his people great, flourishing, and happy, than Charles II. of England. They had generously restored him to the regal dignity, without imposing any new limitations on his prerogative ; but their late violences, and the torrent of blood which had been shed, too strongly demonstrated their dread of popery, and their hatred of arbitrary sway, to permit a supposition that they would ever tamely suffer any gross infringement of their civil or religious liberties. Even if he had no sense of justice or of gratitude, the imprudences of his grandfather, the fatal catastrophe of his father, and eleven years of exclusion, exile, and adversity, were surely sufficient to have taught him moderation, while the affectionate expressions of loyalty and attachment, which every where saluted his ears, demanded his most warm acknowledgments.

With loyalty, mirth and gaiety returned. That gloom which had so long overspread the island, gradually disappeared with those fanatical opinions that produced it. And if the king had made a proper use of his political situation, and of those natural and acquired talents which he so abundantly possessed, he might have held, with a high hand, the balance of Europe, and at the same time have restored the English nation (to use the memorable words of the earl of Clarendon) to its *primitive temper and integrity* ; to “ its old good manners, its old good humour, and its old good nature.” But an infatuated desire of governing without control, and an inattention to the public in-

terest, accompanied with a wasteful prodigality, gradually deprived him of the affections of his subjects, as we shall have occasion to see, and, instead of the arbiter of Europe, rendered him a pensioner of France.

Charles was thirty years of age when he ascended the throne of his ancestors : and, if we consider his adverse fortune, and the opportunities he had enjoyed of mingling with the world, we might suppose that he had dismissed the levities of youth and the intemperance of appetite. But being endowed with a strong constitution and a great flow of spirits, with a manly figure and an engaging manner ; animal love was still his predominant passion, and amusement his chief occupation. He was not, however, incapable of application to business, or unacquainted with affairs either foreign or domestic ; but having been accustomed, during his exile, to live among his courtiers as a companion rather than a monarch, he loved to indulge, even after his restoration, in the pleasures of disengaged society as well as of unrestrained gallantry, and hated every thing that interfered with those favourite avocations. His example was contagious ; a gross sensuality infected the court ; and prodigality, debauchery, and irreligion, became the characteristics of the younger and more fashionable part of the nation¹.

The king himself, who appears to have been little under the influence of either moral or religious principles, conscious of his own irregularities, could easily forgive the deviations of others, and admit an excuse for any system of opinions. Hence he gained the profligate by indulgence, at the same time that he chose to flatter, by attentions, the pride of religion and virtue. This accommodating character, which, through his whole reign, was his chief support, at first raised the highest idea of his judgment and impartiality. Without regard to former distinctions, he admitted into his council the most eminent men of all parties ; the presbyterians equally with the royalists shared this trust. Nor was he less impartial in the distribution of honours. Not only was admiral Montague created earl of Sandwich, and Monk duke of Albemarle,—promotions that might have been expected ;—but Annesley was created earl of Anglesey ; Ashley Cooper, lord Ashley ; and Denzil Holles, lord Holles.

Whatever might be the king's motive for such a conduct, whether a desire of lasting popularity, or merely of serving a temporary purpose, it must be allowed to have been truly politic, as it contributed not only to banish the remembrance of past animosities, but to attach the leaders of the presbyterians ; who,

1 Burnet's Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. book ii.

beside having a great share in the Restoration, were formidable by their numbers, as well as by their property, and determined enemies to the Independents, and other republican sectaries. But the choice which Charles made of his ministers and principal servants, more especially prognosticated happiness and tranquillity, and gave sincere pleasure to all the true friends of the constitution. Sir Edward Hyde, created earl of Clarendon, was declared chancellor of the realm. He had been bred to the law, possessed great talents, and was indefatigable in business. The duke of Ormond, less remarkable for his talents than his courtly accomplishments, his honour, and his fidelity, was constituted steward of the household; the earl of Southampton, a man of abilities and integrity, was appointed high treasurer, and Sir Edward Nicholas and Sir William Morice became secretaries of state. The secretaries were both men of learning and virtue, but were little acquainted with foreign affairs².

These ministers entered into a free and open correspondence with the leading members of both houses; in consequence of which, the *Convention* (as the assembly that accomplished the Restoration had been hitherto called, from its being summoned without the king's authority) received the name of a parliament. All judicial decrees, pronounced during the commonwealth or protectorship, were affirmed; and an act of indemnity was passed, conformable to the king's declaration from Breda. In that declaration Charles had wisely referred all exceptions to the parliament, which excluded such as had an immediate concern in the late king's death. Only six of the regicides, however, with four others who had been abettors of their treason, were executed. The rest made their escape, were pardoned, or confined in different prisons. They all behaved with great firmness, and seemed to consider themselves as martyrs to their civil and religious principles³.

Major-general Lambert and sir Henry Vane were also attainted. Lambert was pardoned, in consequence of his submission; but Vane, on account of his presumptuous behaviour during his trial, was executed⁴. The king's lenity was extended to Scotland; where only the marquis of Argyle, one Guthry a seditious preacher, and an officer named Gouan, were put to death. Argyle's case was thought peculiarly hard; but, as Guthry had personally insulted the king, and pursued a conduct subversive of all legal authority, his fate was lamented only by the wildest fanatics⁵.

Notwithstanding these expiatory sacrifices, the government of Charles was, for a time, remarkably mild and equitable.

² Burnet, vol. i. book ii. ³ State Trials, vol. ii. ⁴ Id. *ibid.* ⁵ Burnet, *ubi sup.*

The first measure that excited any alarm was the act of uniformity.

If the convention, from a jealousy of royal power, had exacted any conditions from the king on his restoration, the establishment of the presbyterian discipline would certainly have been one of them, not only because it was more favourable to civil liberty than episcopacy, in the opinion of the people, but more conformable to the theological ideas of the majority of the members. No such stipulation, however, having been required, the church of England had reason to expect that the hierarchy would recover its ancient rights, and again appear with undiminished splendour, as well as the monarchy. Charles, to whom the business of religion was wholly left, though inclined to revive episcopacy, was at a loss how to proceed. The presbyterians, from their recent services, and the episcopal clergy, from their loyalty and former sufferings in consequence of their attachment to the royal cause, had claims upon his gratitude. As he wished to gain all parties, by disobliging none, he conducted himself with great moderation. At the same time that he restored the ejected clergy, and ordered the liturgy to be received in the churches, he issued a declaration, importing that the bishops should all be regular and constant preachers; that they should not confer ordination, or exercise any jurisdiction, without the advice and assistance of presbyters, chosen by the diocese; that such alterations should be made in the liturgy as would render it unexceptionable; and that, in the mean time, the episcopal mode of worship should not be imposed on those who were unwilling to receive it⁶.

Such was the state of the church at the dissolution of the convention parliament; which, while it guarded the legal rights of the crown, did not lose sight of the liberty of the subject, but maintained a happy medium between high prerogative and licentious freedom. The new parliament was of a very different complexion. The royalists, seconded by the influence of the crown, had prevailed in most elections. Not above seventy members of the presbyterian party obtained seats in the house of commons; and these not being able to counteract with efficacy the measures of the court, monarchy and episcopacy were now as much exalted as they had lately been insulted and depressed.

An act was quickly framed for the security of the king's person and government, containing many severe clauses; and as the bishops, though restored to their spiritual authority, were still excluded from parliament, in consequence of a law extorted from Charles I., that act was now repealed. But the measures

which most remarkably manifested the zeal of the parliament for the church and monarchy were the act of uniformity, and the bill for abrogating the triennial act. Instead of the exact stipulations of the latter, a general clause provided, that parliaments should not be interrupted above three years at most. By the act of uniformity it was required, that every clergyman, capable of holding a benefice, should possess episcopal ordination, declare his assent to every thing contained in the book of common-prayer, take the oath of canonical obedience, abjure the solemn league and covenant, and renounce the principle of taking arms against the king on any pretence whatever⁷.

Thus was the church reinstated in power and splendour; and A. D. 1662. as the old persecuting laws subsisted in their full rigour, and even new clauses of a like nature were now enacted, all the king's promises of toleration and indulgence to tender consciences, in his declaration from Breda, were eluded and broken. The more zealous of the presbyterian clergymen resolved to refuse the subscription; encouraged by the hope, that the bishops would not dare to expel so great a number of the most popular preachers in the kingdom. But in this expectation they were deceived. The church, anticipating the pleasure of retaliation, had made the terms of subscription rigid, on purpose to disgust all the scrupulous presbyterians, and deprive them of their livings⁸; and the court beheld, with equal satisfaction and astonishment, two thousand of the clergy, in one day, relinquishing their benefices, and sacrificing their interest to their religious opinions.

This measure, which united the various sects of Protestant dissenters in a common hatred of the church, and roused in the church a spirit of intolerance and persecution, was peculiarly impolitic and imprudent, as well as violent and unjust; more especially as the opportunity seemed fair for taking advantage of the resentment of the presbyterians against the republican sectaries, and drawing them, without persecuting the others, by the cords of love into the pale of the church, instead of driving them back by severe usage into their ancient confederacies. A small relaxation in the terms of communion would certainly have been sufficient for that purpose. But the royal family, and the Catholics, whose influence was great at court, had other views, which you may now expect me to unfold.

Charles, during his exile, had not only imbibed strong prejudices in favour of the Catholic religion, but had even been secretly reconciled in form to the church of Rome⁹. His brother, the duke of York, however, was a more sincere convert. James

⁷ Parl. Hist. vol. xxiii.

⁸ Burnet, vol. i. book ii.

⁹ Burnet, book i.

had zealously adopted all the absurd and pernicious principles of popery ; and as he had acquired a great influence over the king, by his talent for business, the severities in the act of uniformity had been chiefly suggested by him and the earl of Bristol¹⁰, also a zealous Catholic and a favourite at court. Sensible that undisguised popery could claim no legal indulgence, they inflamed the church party against the presbyterians : they encouraged the latter to stand out ; and when, in consequence of these artifices, they saw so numerous and popular a body of the clergy ejected, they formed the plan of a general toleration, in hopes that the hated sect of the Catholics might pass unobserved in the crowd, and enjoy the same liberty with the rest.

The king, who had this measure more at heart than could have been expected from his seeming indifference to all religions, accordingly issued a declaration, under pretence of mitigating the rigours contained in the act of uniformity. After mentioning the promise of liberty of conscience included in his declaration from Breda, he added, that although, in the first place, he had been zealous to settle the uniformity of the church of England, which he should ever maintain, yet in regard to the penalties upon those who were not inclined to conform to it, but modestly and without scandal performed their devotions in their own way, he should make it his particular care to persuade his parliamentary subjects to concur with him in framing such an act as might enable him to exercise with more general satisfaction that dispensing power, which he conceived to be a part of his prerogative¹¹. The parliament, however, alarmed at the idea of a *dispensing power* in the crown, and having a glimpse of the object for which it was to be exercised, declared that the proposed indulgence would prove most pernicious both to church and state ; would open a door to schism, encourage faction, disturb the public peace, and discredit the wisdom of the legislature¹². And the court, having already gained so many points, judged it necessary to lay aside for a time the project of toleration. In the mean time the ejected clergymen were prosecuted with unrelenting rigour ; severe laws being enacted, not only against conventicles, but against any non-conforming teacher coming within five miles of a corporation.

The presbyterians of Scotland did not experience greater lenity than those of England. As Charles had made them no promises before his restoration, he resolved to pursue the absurd policy of his father and grandfather, of establishing episcopacy in that kingdom. In this resolution he was confirmed

¹⁰ Not the negotiator of the Spanish match, but his unsteady and unprincipled son.

¹¹ Kennet's Register, p. 850.

¹² Parl. Hist. vol. xxiii.

by his antipathy to the Scottish ecclesiastics, on account of the insults which he had received while he resided among them. He therefore replied to the earl of Lauderdale, with more pertness than judgment, when pressed to establish presbytery, that "it was not a religion for a gentleman!" and he could not agree to its farther continuance in Scotland¹³. Such a reason might have suited a fop in his dressing-room, or a jolly companion over his bottle, but was very unworthy of the head of a great monarchy. The consequences were such as might have been foreseen. A vast majority of the Scottish nation viewed the king and his ministers with horror, and resolved to undergo all the rigours of persecution rather than relinquish their form of worship.

Certain political measures conspired with those of religion to diminish that popularity which the king had enjoyed at his restoration. His marriage with Catharine of Portugal, to which he was chiefly prompted by the largeness of her portion¹⁴, was by no means agreeable to his subjects, who were particularly desirous of his marrying a Protestant princess. The sale of Dunkirk to France, for his private profit, occasioned universal disgust¹⁵; and the Dutch war, in which he is said to have engaged with a view of diverting part of the parliamentary aids to the supply of his own profusions, contributed still farther to increase the public dissatisfaction. The particulars of that war it must now be our business to relate.

The reasons assigned for commencing hostilities against the United Provinces were, the depredations committed by the subjects of that republic upon the English traders in different parts of the world. But unfortunately for Charles, these depredations, though sufficient to call up the keenest resentment, had all preceded the year 1662, when a treaty of alliance had been renewed between England and the states. This circumstance, however, was overlooked in the general jealousy conceived of the Hollanders, who, by their persevering industry, and by other means, had greatly diminished the foreign trade of the English merchants. The king was resolved on a war, from which, in consequence of his superior naval force, he hoped to derive vast advantages: and, as he was

¹³ Burnet, book ii.

¹⁴ He received with her about three hundred thousand pounds sterling, the settlement of Bombay in the East Indies, and the fortress of Tangier on the coast of Africa.

¹⁵ The sale of Dunkirk, though stigmatised as one of the worst measures of Charles's reign, was more blameable as a mark of meanness in the king than on account of its detriment to the nation. The charge of maintaining that fortress was very great, and the benefit arising from it small. It had then no harbour to receive vessels of burthen; and Louis XIV., who was a judge of such acquisitions, and who first made it a good sea-port, thought he had made a hard bargain, when he even paid less than three hundred thousand pounds for it. D'Estrades' Letters.

warmly seconded in his views by the city and parliament, sir Robert Holmes was secretly despatched with a squadron to the coast of Africa; where he not only expelled the Dutch from Cape Corse, to which the English had some pretensions, but seized their settlements of Cape Verd and the isle of Goree. Another squadron sailed soon after to North America, under the conduct of sir Richard Nicholas, who took possession of the Dutch settlement of Nova Belgia, afterward called New York, in honour of the duke, who had obtained a grant of it from his brother¹⁶.

Since the death of William II. prince of Orange, who attempted, as we have already seen, to encroach on the liberties of the republic of Holland; the Dutch, conformably to their perpetual edict, had elected no stadtholder. The government had continued wholly in the hands of the Louvestein, or violent republican party, who were declared enemies to the house of Orange. This state of the affairs of the United Provinces could not be very agreeable to the king of England, who wished to see his nephew, William III., reinstated in the authority possessed by his ancestors. It is supposed, that he had formed a design, in concert with his brother, of rendering the young prince absolute, and bringing the states to a dependence on England. It is at least certain, that the famous John de Wit, pensionary of Holland, who was the soul of the republican party, and invested with almost dictatorial powers, apprehensive of some scheme of that kind, had, soon after the Restoration, entered into a close alliance with France¹⁷. This has since been thought bad policy: and it must be owned, that de Wit's antipathy to the family of Orange led him into measures not always advantageous to his country; but it ought at the same time to be remembered, that neither the genius of Louis XIV., nor the resources of the French monarchy, were then known.

De Wit, equally distinguished by his magnanimity, ability, and integrity—who knew how to blend the moderate deportment of the private citizen with the dignity of the minister of state—and who had laid it down as a maxim, that no independent state ought over tamely to suffer any breach of equity from another, whatever might be the disparity of force—when informed of the hostilities of England, did not hesitate a moment how to act. He immediately sent orders to de Ruyter (who was cruising with a fleet in the Mediterranean, for the purpose of chastising the piratical states of Barbary) to sail toward the

¹⁶ *King James the Second's Memoirs.* This territory, being situated within the line of the English discoveries, had been granted by James I. to the earl of Stirling; but it had never been colonised, except by the Dutch.

¹⁷ *Basnage.—Temple.—Burnet.*

coast of Guinea, and put the Hollanders again in possession of those settlements from which they had been violently expelled. The Dutch admiral, who had a considerable body of land forces on board, recovered some of the African settlements lately reduced by the English, and even deprived them of several of their old possessions; and sailing to America, he insulted Barbadoes, committed hostilities on Long Island, and took a considerable number of ships¹⁸.

A declaration of war was the consequence of these mutual hostilities, and both sides prepared for the most vigorous exertions of their naval strength. By the prudent management of de Wit, a spirit of union was preserved among the states; great sums were levied; and a navy composed of larger ships than the Dutch had ever before sent to sea, was speedily equipped. Charles, who was well acquainted with naval architecture, went from port to port, inspecting the dock yards, and hastening the preparations. Sailors flocked from all quarters; and the duke of York, who had been originally designed for the head of the navy, and was now high-admiral of England, put to sea with a fleet of a hundred sail, and stood for the coast of Holland. Prince Rupert and the earl of Sandwich commanded under him. The Dutch fleet, of at least equal force, was commanded by admiral Opdam, in conjunction with Evertsen and young Tromp, son to the famous admiral of that name, killed in the former war. They declined not the combat. The sea was smooth, and not a cloud to be seen in the sky. The duke in the Royal Charles, bore down upon Opdam, and a furious

June 3. battle began. The contest was continued for four hours with great spirit; at length Opdam's ship blew up; and the Dutch, discouraged by the awful fate of their admiral and his gallant crew, fled toward the Texel¹⁹. They lost near thirty ships, and their whole fleet might, perhaps, have been taken or destroyed, had the English made a proper use of their victory. But unfortunately about midnight, orders were given to shorten sail²⁰; so that in the morning, no hopes of overtaking the enemy remained. And thus was neglected an oppor-

¹⁸ Vie de M. de Ruyter.

¹⁹ King James's Memoirs.

²⁰ These orders were given by one Brouncker, a gentleman of the duke's bed-chamber, while his master was asleep, and without his authority, if we may believe the royal memorialists;—and, from his behaviour during the action, we can hardly suppose that he was afraid of a beaten and flying enemy. But it is well known, that the same man may be a hero at noon, and a coward at midnight. In a word, it is highly improbable that Brouncker should dare to give such orders of himself; and although we know nothing positively to the contrary, we are informed by Burnet, that the duke seemed very much struck when, understanding that he was likely to come up with the enemy, he was told by Penn, his captain, that he must “prepare for better work in the next engagement,” as the Dutch always gather courage from despair. (Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. book ii.) This information Burnet had from the earl of Montague, who was then a volunteer in the duke's ship.

tunity of ruining the naval force of the Dutch, which never returned, in that age, or in the greater part of the following century. The English lost only one ship.

The joy arising from the duke's naval victory, so highly extolled by the adherents of the court, was much diminished by the ravages of the plague, which carried off near seventy thousand persons in London, in one year. The melancholy apprehensions occasioned by this calamity, added to the horrors of war, were increased by the prospect of new enemies. Louis XIV. was obliged to assist the Dutch, in consequence of the treaty of alliance; and the king of Denmark, jealous of the naval power of England, engaged to furnish thirty ships in support of the same cause, for an annual subsidy of fifteen hundred thousand crowns²¹. De Wit, however, who was now blamed as the author of the war, did not trust to these alliances. He not only forwarded the naval preparations, but went on board the fleet himself; and so extensive was his genius, that he soon became as much master of sea affairs, as if he had been bred to them from his infancy. By his courage and capacity he quickly remedied all the disorders occasioned by the late misfortune, infused new confidence into his party, and revived the declining valour of his countrymen²².

In order to balance so formidable a combination, Charles attempted, but without success, to negotiate an alliance with Spain. Concluding, however, that Louis could have no serious purpose of exalting the power of Holland, and elate with recent success, he was not alarmed at the number of his enemies; though every shore was hostile to the English seamen, from the extremity of Norway to the port of Bayonne. A formidable fleet of seventy-eight sail of the line, commanded by the duke of Albemarle and prince Rupert, seemed to justify the confidence of the king. But unfortunately this force was divided in the moment of danger. It having been reported, that the duke of Beaufort had entered the Channel, with a French fleet of forty A. D. 1666. sail, prince Rupert was detached with twenty ships to oppose him. Meanwhile the Dutch fleet, to the number of ninety sail, commanded by de Ruyter and Tromp, had put to sea; and Albemarle, notwithstanding the inferiority of his force, rashly sought an engagement²³. But his valour atoned for his temerity. The battle that ensued was one of the most memorable in the annals of mankind, whether we consider its duration, or the desperate courage with which it was fought.

The Dutch had the advantage in the first part of the conflict; yet Albemarle, in engaging de Ruyter, had shown him- June 1, self worthy of his former renown. Two Dutch admi-

21 Let. d'Estrades.

22 Basnage.

23 Clarendon's Life.—Contin. of Baker

rals were slain, and three English ships taken. One Dutch ship was burned. Darkness parted the combatants. The next morning, the battle was renewed with redoubled fierceness ; and the Dutch were ready to give way, when they were reinforced with sixteen capital ships. The English now found that the most heroic valour could not counterbalance the superiority of numbers, against an enemy not defective either in courage or conduct. Albemarle, however, would yield to nothing but the interposition of night ; and although he had lost no ships in this second action, he found his force so much weakened, that he resolved to take advantage of the darkness and retire. But the vigilance of the enemy, and the shattered condition of his fleet, prevented him from fully executing his intention. Before morning, however, he was able to make some way ; and it was four in the afternoon before de Ruyter could come up with him. His disabled ships were ordered to make all the sail possible, and keep a-head, while he himself closed the rear with sixteen of the most entire, and presented an undaunted countenance to the Hollanders. Determined to perish sooner than to strike, he prepared to renew the action. But as he was sensible that the probability of success was against him, he declared to the earl of Ossory (son of the duke of Ormond) his intention to blow up his ship rather than fall into the hands of the enemy : and that gallant youth applauded the desperate resolution. But fortune rescued both from such a violent death, at the same time that it saved the English navy. A fleet being descried before the action was renewed, suspense for a time restrained the rage of the combatants. One party concluded it to be the duke of Beaufort, the other prince Rupert, and both rent the sky with their shouts. At length, to the unspeakable joy of the English, it was discovered to be the prince. Night prevented an immediate renewal of the action ; but, in the morning, the battle raged more fiercely than ever. Through the whole fourth day the contest remained doubtful ; and toward the evening both fleets, as if weary of carnage, retired under a thick fog to their respective harbours²⁴.

But the English admirals were men of too high valour to be satisfied with less than victory. While they sent the disabled ships to different docks to be refitted, they remained on board their own. The whole fleet was soon ready to put to sea, and a new engagement was eagerly sought. Nor was it long denied them. Ruyter and Tromp, with the Dutch fleet, consisting of about eighty sail, had posted themselves at the mouth of the Thames, in hopes of being joined by a French squadron, and of riding triumphant in the Channel. There they were descried

by the English fleet under prince Rupert and Albemarle. The force on both sides was nearly equal. The Dutch bore toward the coast of Holland, but were closely pursued. At length they formed themselves in order of battle, and a terrible conflict ensued. Sir Thomas Allen, who commanded the English white squadron, attacked the Dutch van with irresistible fury, and killed the three admirals who commanded it. Tromp engaged and defeated sir Jeremy Smith, admiral of the blue; but unfortunately for his countrymen, by pursuing too eagerly, he was totally separated from the Dutch centre, where his assistance was much wanted. Meanwhile de Ruyter, who occupied that dangerous station, maintained with equal conduct and courage the combat against the centre of the English fleet, commanded by Rupert and Albemarle. Overpowered by numbers, his high spirit was at last obliged to submit to a retreat, which he conducted with the greatest ability; yet he could not help exclaiming, in the agony of his heart, "My God! what a wretch am I, to be compelled to submit to this disgrace!—Among so many thousand bullets, is there not one to put an end to my miserable life?" Tromp too, after all his success, was obliged to yield to the combined efforts of the English red and blue squadrons²⁵.

Though the loss sustained by the Dutch in this engagement was not very considerable, it occasioned great consternation among the provinces. The defeat of their fleet filled them with the most melancholy apprehensions. Some of these were soon realised. The English, now absolute masters of the sea, rode in triumph along the coast, and insulted the Hollanders in their harbours. A squadron under sir Robert Holmes, entered the road of Vlie, and burned two men of war, and a hundred and forty rich merchantmen, as well as the large village of Branderis; the whole damage being computed at several millions sterling²⁶.

The situation of de Wit was now truly critical. The Dutch merchants, uniting themselves with the Orange faction, violently exclaimed against an administration, which, as they pretended, had brought disgrace and ruin on their country. But the firm and intrepid mind of de Wit supported him under all his difficulties and distresses. Having quieted the provinces of Holland and Zealand, he gave himself little trouble about the murmurs of the rest, as they did not contribute much toward the public expense. The fleet of the republic was very quickly refitted, and again sent to sea under de Ruyter; and the king of France, though pleased to see England and Holland weakening

each other's naval force, hastened the sailing of his fleet, lest a second defeat should oblige his friend de Wit to abandon his dangerous station²⁷. Such a defeat would certainly have happened to one, if not to both fleets, had not a violent storm obliged prince Rupert to retire into St. Helen's. While he remained there, de Ruyter, who had taken shelter in the road of Bologne, returned home with his fleet in a sickly condition.—The duke of Beaufort, who came too late to form a junction with the Dutch admiral, passed both up and down the Channel without being observed by the English fleet; and Louis, anxious for the safety of his infant navy, which he had reared with much care and industry, despatched orders to the duke to retire to Brest²⁸.

The same storm which by sea, prevented prince Rupert from annoying the French and Dutch fleets, promoted a dreadful calamity on land. A fire broke out, at one in the morning, in a baker's shop near London bridge, and had acquired great force before it was observed. The neighbouring houses were chiefly composed of wood; the weather had long been remarkable dry; the streets were narrow, and the wind blew violently from the east; so that the flames spread with extraordinary rapidity. Terror and consternation seized the distracted inhabitants, who considered the conflagration, occurring so soon after the plague, as another visitation from Heaven on account of the crimes of the court; or as a conspiracy of the papists, in conjunction with France, for the extirpation of all true religion. Suspicions even extended to the royal family²⁹. Three nights and three days did the flames rage with increasing fury: on the fourth day, the wind falling, the fire ceased in a manner as wonderful as its progress. Of twenty six wards, into which the city was divided, fifteen were reduced to a mere heap of ruins: four hundred streets and lanes, comprehending thirteen thousand houses, were destroyed³⁰. But this calamity, though severely felt at the time, eventually contributed to the health, safety, and convenience of the inhabitants of London, by the judicious method observed in constructing the new buildings³¹; and, what is truly remarkable, it does not appear that during the whole conflagration, one life was lost either by fire or otherwise.

Though we have no reason to suppose that either the Catholics or the court had any concern in the fire of London, the very suspicion of such a conspiracy is a proof of the jealousy

27 Basnage.—Le Clerc. 28 Clarendon's Life.—Contin. of Baker. 29 Burnet, book ii.

30 King James's Mem.—Clarendon's Life.—Burnet, ubi sup.

31 The streets were not only made wider and more regular than formerly, but the new houses were formed of less combustible materials.

entertained of the measures of government. This jealousy was chiefly occasioned by the severities exercised against the presbyterians and other non-conformists, who were still very numerous; and by the secret favour shown to the Catholics, who, though proscribed by many laws, seldom felt the rigour of any.

The non-conformists in Scotland were still more harshly treated. In consequence of the introduction of episcopacy, a mode of worship extremely obnoxious to the great body of the Scottish nation, three hundred and fifty parish churches had been at once declared vacant. New ministers were sought all over the kingdom, and the churches filled with men of the most abandoned characters. Few candidates were so ignorant or vicious as to be rejected. The people, who were extremely devoted to their former teachers (men remarkable for the austerity of their manners and their fervour in preaching,) could not conceal their indignation against these intruders, whose debaucheries filled them with horror. They followed the ejected clergymen to the woods and mountains, where multitudes assembled to listen to their pious discourses; and while this pleasure was allowed them, they discovered no symptoms of sedition. But when the Scottish parliament, which was wholly under the influence of the court, framed a rigorous law against conventicles, the people took the alarm; and the cruelties and oppressions, exercised in enforcing this law, at last roused them to rebellion³².

The inhabitants of the western counties, where religious zeal has always been more ardent than in any other part of Scotland, rose in arms to the number of two thousand, and renewed the covenant. They did not, however, commit any kind of violence; and they published a manifesto, in which they professed their loyalty and submission to the king, and only desired the re-establishment of presbytery and their former ministers. As most of the gentlemen of their party in the west had been confined on suspicion of an insurrection, they marched toward Edinburgh, in hopes of being joined by some men of rank; but finding themselves deceived, many dispersed, and the rest were marching back to their own districts, when they were attacked by the king's forces, and routed at Pentland hills.— Nov. 28. A considerable number of prisoners were taken and treated with great severity: ten were hanged on one gibbet at Edinburgh, and thirty-five before their own doors, in different parts of the country³³.

All these men might have saved their lives, if they would either have renounced the covenant or discovered any of their

32 Burnet, book ii.

33 Burnet, book ii.

associates; but, though mostly persons of mean condition, they adhered inviolably to their faith and friendship. Maccail, one of their teachers, supposed to have been deep in the secrets of his party, was put to the torture in order to extort a confession,—but without effect. He bore his sufferings with great constancy; and expiring under them, seemed to depart in a transport of joy. “Farewel, sun, moon, and stars,” said he;—“farewel, kindred and friends; farewel, weak and frail body; farewel, world and time! welcome, eternity; welcome, angels and saints; welcome, Saviour of the world; and welcome, God the judge of all³⁴!” These words he uttered with a voice and manner that made a great impression upon all who heard him, and contributed not a little to inflame the zeal of his partisans. Conventicles continued to be attended in defiance of all the rigours of government, though these were extended to a degree of severity that was disgraceful to humanity.

The state of Ireland was no less deplorable than that of Scotland; but the miseries of the Irish proceeded from other causes. These it must now be our business to trace.

Cromwell, having expelled the native Irish from their three principal provinces, Munster, Leinster, and Ulster, had confined them to Connaught and the county of Clare. And although the majority of these were Catholics, many of them were altogether innocent of the massacre which had drawn so much odium on their countrymen of that religion. Several Protestants too, and the duke of Ormond among the rest, who had uniformly opposed the Irish rebellion, were also attainted, because they had afterward embraced the king’s cause against the parliament. To these sufferers, some relief seemed due after the Restoration: but the difficulty was, how to find the means of redressing such great and extensive grievances.

The most valuable lands in Ireland had been already measured out and divided, either among the adventurers who had lent money to the parliament for the suppression of the popish conspiracy, or among the soldiers who had accomplished that business. These men could not be dispossessed; because they were the most powerful, and only armed part, of the inhabitants of Ireland; because it was necessary to favour them, in order to support the Protestant and English interest in that kingdom; and because they had generally, with seeming zeal and alacrity, concurred in the king’s restoration. Charles, therefore, issued a proclamation, in which he promised to maintain their settlement: and he at the same time engaged to yield redress to the innocent sufferers³⁵.

³⁴ Burnet, book ii. ³⁵ Carte’s Life of the Duke Ormond, vol. ii.—Hume, vol. vii.

There was a considerable quantity of land still undivided in Ireland; and from this and other funds, it was thought possible for the king to fulfil his engagements, without disturbing the present landholders. A court of claims was accordingly erected, consisting of English commissioners, who had no connexion with any of the parties into which Ireland was divided; and the duke of Ormond, being supposed to be the only person whose prudence and justice could compose such jarring interests, was re-appointed lord-lieutenant. The number of presented claims diffused general anxiety and alarm; but, after a temporary ferment, all parties seemed willing to abate somewhat of their pretensions, in order to obtain stability. Ormond interposed his authority for that purpose. The soldiers and adventurers agreed to relinquish a fourth of their possessions: all those who had been attainted on account of their adherence to the king were restored, as well as some of the innocent Catholics³⁶.

In consequence of this settlement, Ireland began to acquire some degree of composure; when it was disturbed by an impolitic act, passed by the English parliament, prohibiting the importation of Irish cattle into England. Ormond remonstrated strongly against that law. He said, that the trade then carried on between England and Ireland was extremely to the advantage of the former kingdom, which received only provisions, or rude materials, in return for every species of manufacture; that if the cattle of Ireland, were prohibited, the inhabitants of that island had no other commodity with which they could pay England for their importations, and must therefore have recourse to other nations for a supply; and the industrious part of the inhabitants of England, if deprived of Irish provisions, which made living cheap, would be obliged to augment the price of labour, and thereby render their manufactures too dear to be exported with advantage to foreign markets³⁷.

The king was so convinced of the force of these arguments, that he used all his interest to oppose the bill, and declared that he could not give his assent to it with a safe conscience. But the commons were obstinate, and Jan. 18, 1667. Charles was in want of a supply: he was therefore impelled, by his fears of a refusal, to pass it into a law³⁸. The event, however, justified the reasoning of Ormond. This severe law brought great distress upon Ireland for a time; but it proved in the sequel beneficial to that kingdom, and hurtful to England, by obliging the Irish to apply with more industry to manufactures, and to cultivate a commercial correspondence with France.

³⁶ Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, vol. ii.—Hume, vol. vii.

³⁷ Carte, ubi sup.

³⁸ Parl. Hist. vol. xxiii.

These grievances and discontents in each of the three kingdoms, and the imperfect success of a war from which the greatest advantages were expected, induced the king to turn his thoughts towards peace. The Dutch, whose trade had greatly suffered, were no less disposed to such a measure ; and, after some ineffectual conferences in the queen-mother's apartments at Paris, it was agreed that the negotiation should be transferred to Breda. The English ambassadors, lord Holles and Henry Coventry, desired that a suspension of hostilities should immediately take place ; but this proposal was rejected through the influence of de Wit. That able and active minister, perfectly acquainted with the characters of the contending princes, and with the situation of affairs in Europe, had discovered an opportunity of striking a blow, which might at once restore to the Dutch the honour lost during the war, and severely revenge those injuries which he ascribed to the wanton ambition and injustice of the English monarch³⁹.

The expense of the naval armaments of England had been so great, that Charles had not hitherto been able to apply to his own use any of the money granted him by parliament. He therefore resolved to save, as far as possible, the last supply of one million eight hundred thousand pounds, for the payment of his debts. This sum, which was thought by his wisest ministers too small to enable him to carry on the war with vigour, afforded to the profuse and needy monarch a pretence for laying up his largest ships. Nor did that measure appear highly reprehensible, as the immediate prospect of peace seemed sufficient to free the king from all apprehensions of danger from his enemies. But de Wit, who was informed of this supine security, protracted the negotiations at Breda, and hastened the naval preparations of Holland. A fleet, under de Ruyter, stationed itself at the mouth of the Thames; while a squadron commanded by Van Ghent, assisted by an east wind and a June 10. spring tide, after reducing Sheerness, broke a chain which had been drawn across the Medway, destroyed three ships appointed to guard it, sailed up that river, and burned the Royal Oak, the Loyal London, and the Great James⁴⁰.

The destruction of the ships at Chatham threw the city of London into the utmost consternation. It was apprehended that the Dutch, sailing up the Thames, would carry their hostilities even as far as London bridge. Nine ships were sunk at Woolwich, five at Blackwall ; batteries were raised in many

³⁹ Basnage.

⁴⁰ Clarendon's Life.—King James's Mem.—Captain Douglas, commander of the Royal Oak, perished in the flames, though he had an opportunity of escaping. "Never was it known," said he, "that a Douglas quitted his post without orders?" Temple, vol. ii.

places; and the militia were called out. These precautions, and the difficult navigation of the Thames, induced de Ruyter to steer his course to the westward. He made a fruitless attempt upon Portsmouth, and also on Plymouth; he returned to the mouth of the Thames, where he was not more successful; but, for several weeks, he rode triumphant in the Channel⁴¹.

The alarm thus excited, however, was soon dispelled by the signing of the treaty of Breda. In order to facilitate that measure, so necessary in his present distressed June 29. situation, Charles had instructed his ambassadors to recede from some demands which had hitherto obstructed the negotiation. No mention was now made of the restitution of the island of Poleron in the East Indies, which had been formerly insisted on; nor was any satisfaction required for those depredations which had been assigned as the cause of the war. England, however, retained possession of New York; while the English settlement of Surinam, which had been reduced by the Dutch, was ceded to the republic⁴².

But this pacification, though it removed the apprehensions of danger, by no means quieted the discontents of the people. All men of spirit were filled with indignation at the improvidence of government, and at the rapacity, meanness, and prodigality of the king, who in order to procure money for his pleasures, had left his kingdom exposed to insult and disgrace. In a word, the shameful conclusion of the Dutch war dispelled that delirium of joy, which had been occasioned by the Restoration; and the people, as if awaking from a dream, wondered how they had been pleased.

Charles, who, amid all his dissipations, possessed and even employed a considerable share of political sagacity, as well as address, resolved to attempt the recovery of his popularity by sacrificing his minister to the national resentment. The plan in part succeeded, as it seemed to indicate a change of measures, while it presented a grateful offering to an offended community.

Though the earl of Clarendon had for some time lost the confidence of his sovereign, by the austerity of his manners and the severity of his remonstrances, he was still considered by the people as the head of the cabinet, and regarded as the author of every imprudent or obnoxious measure since the Restoration. The king's marriage, in which he had merely acquiesced; the sale of Dunkirk, to which he had only given his assent, as one of the council; the Dutch war, which he had opposed; and all the persecuting laws against the various sectaries, were by the public ascribed to him. The Catholics knew him to be the declared enemy of their principles, both civil and religious; and

⁴¹ Temple, vol. ii.

⁴² Clarendon's Life.

he was exposed, on different grounds, to the hatred of every party in the nation. His general odium afforded the king a pretence for depriving him of the seals, and dismissing him from his council ; and the parliament, adopting the ungenerous hints of Charles, first impeached and then banished the earl⁴³. Conscious of his own innocence, and unwilling to disturb the tranquillity of the state, the chancellor made no defence, but quietly submitted to his sentence. And this cruel treatment of so good a minister, by a kind of tacit combination of prince and people, is a striking example of the ingratitude of the one, and of the ignorance and injustice of the other ; for, if Clarendon was not a great, he was at least an upright and even an able statesman. He was, to use the words of his friend Southampton, “ a true Protestant, and an honest Englishman ;” equally attentive to the just prerogatives of the crown, and to the constitutional liberties of the subject, of whatever errors he might be guilty either in foreign or domestic politics.

The king’s next measure, namely, the triple alliance, was not less popular, and was much more deserving of praise. But, before I speak of that alliance, we must take a view of the state of France and Spain.

Louis XIV., the powerful sovereign of the former realm, possessed every quality that could flatter the pride or conciliate the affections of a vain-glorious people. The manly beauty of his person, in which he surpassed all his courtiers, was embellished with a noble air ; the dignity of his behaviour was tempered with affability and politeness ; and if he was not the greatest king, he was at least, to use the words of lord Bolingbroke, “ the best actor of majesty that ever filled a throne⁴⁴.” Addicted to pleasure, but decent even in his sensualities, he set an example of elegant gallantry to his subjects ; while he flattered their vanity, and gratified their passion for show, by the magnificence of his palaces and the splendour of his public entertainments. Though illiterate himself, he was a munificent patron of learning and the polite arts ; and men of genius, not only in his own kingdom, but in other parts of Europe, experienced the fostering influence of his liberality.

Dazzled by the shining qualities of their young monarch, and proud to participate in his glory, the French submitted without murmuring to the most violent stretches of arbitrary power. This submissive loyalty, combined with the ambition of the prince, the industry and ingenuity of the people, and internal tranquillity, made France, which had long been distracted by domestic factions, and overshadowed by the grandeur of the

Spanish monarchy, now appear truly formidable to the neighbouring states. Colbert, an able and active minister, had put the finances into excellent order; enormous sums were raised for the public service; a navy was created, and a great standing army supported, without being felt by that populous and extensive kingdom.

Conscious of his power and resources, Louis had early given symptoms of that haughty spirit, that restless ambition, and insatiable thirst of glory, which so long disturbed the peace of Europe. A quarrel for precedency having happened in London between the French and Spanish ambassadors, he threatened to commence hostilities, unless the superiority of his crown should be acknowledged; and was not satisfied till the court of Madrid sent a solemn embassy to Paris, promising acquiescence. His treatment of the pope was still more arrogant. Crequi, the French ambassador at Rome, having met with an affront from the guards of Alexander VII., that pontiff was obliged to punish the offenders, to send his nephew into France to ask pardon, and to allow a pillar to be erected in Rome itself, as a monument of his own humiliation. England also experienced the lofty spirit of Louis. He refused to pay the honours of the flag; and prepared with such vigour for resistance, that the too easy Charles judged it prudent to desist from his pretensions. "The king of England," said he to his ambassador d'Estrades, "may know the amount of my force, but he knows not the elevation of my mind. Every thing appears to me contemptible in comparison of glory⁴⁵."

These were strong indications of the character of the French despot; but the first measure that gave general alarm was the invasion of the Spanish Netherlands.

Though Louis, by the treaty of the Pyrenees, had solemnly renounced all title to the succession of any part of the Spanish dominions, which might occur in consequence of his marriage with the infanta Maria Theresa, he had still kept in view, as a favourite object, the eventual succession to the whole of that monarchy; and on the death of Philip IV. (in 1665) he retracted his renunciation, alleging that natural rights, depending on consanguinity, could not be annihilated by any extorted deed or contract. Philip had left a son named Charles, a sickly infant, whose death was daily expected; but as the queen of France was the offspring of a prior marriage, she laid claim to a considerable province of the Spanish monarchy, to the exclusion even of her brother. This claim was founded on a custom in some parts of Brabant, where a female of the first marriage was preferred to a male of the second, in the succession to private inheritances.

Hence Louis inferred, that his queen had acquired a right to the sovereignty of that important duchy.

Such an ambitious claim was more fit to be adjusted by military force than by argument; and, in that kind of dispute, the king of France was sensible of his superiority. He had only to contend with a weak woman, Anna Maria of Austria, queen regent of Spain, who was entirely governed by father Nithard, her confessor, a German Jesuit, whom she had placed at the head of her councils, after appointing him grand inquisitor. The ignorance and arrogance of this priest are sufficiently displayed in his reply to a nobleman who had treated him with disrespect: "You ought to revere the man," said he, "who has every day your God in his hands, and your queen at his feet⁴⁶."

Father Nithard and his mistress had left the Spanish monarchy defenceless in every quarter; but, if the towns in the Low Countries had been more strongly garrisoned, and the fortifications in a better state, the French king was prepared to overcome all difficulties. He entered Flanders at the head of forty thousand men: Turenne commanded under him; and Louvois, his minister for military affairs, had placed large magazines in all the frontier towns. The Spaniards, though apprised of their danger, were in no condition to resist such a force.—Charleroy, Aeth, Tournay, Furnes, Armentieres, Courtray, and Douay, immediately surrendered; and Lisle, though a place of considerable strength, capitulated after a siege of nine days. Louvois advised the king to leave garrisons in all these towns, and the celebrated Vauban, was employed to re-fortify them⁴⁷.

A progress so rapid filled Europe with terror and consternation. Another campaign, it was supposed, might put Louis in possession of all the Low Countries. The Dutch were particularly alarmed at the prospect of having their frontiers exposed to such an aspiring and encroaching neighbour. But, in looking around them, they saw no means of safety: for, although the emperor and the German princes discovered evident symptoms of discontent, their motions were slow and backward; and no dependence, the states thought, could be placed on the variable and injudicious politics of the king of England. Contrary to all expectation, however, Charles resolved to take the first step toward a confederacy, which should apparently tend to restrain the power and the ambitious pretensions of France.

46 Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. vii.

47 *Id. ibid.* The citadel of Lisle was the first fortress constructed according to his new principles.

Sir William Temple, the English resident at Brussels, received orders to go secretly to the Hague for this purpose. Frank, open, sincere, and superior to the little arts of vulgar politicians, Temple found in de Wit a man of the same generous sentiments and honourable views. He immediately disclosed his master's intentions; and although jealousy of the family of Orange might disincline de Wit to a strict union with England, he patriotically resolved to sacrifice every private consideration to the public safety. Louis, dreading a general combination, had offered to relinquish all his queen's rights to Brabant, on condition either of keeping the conquests of the late campaign, or of receiving Franche-Comté, and the towns of Aire and St. Omer. De Wit and Temple founded their treaty upon that proposal: they agreed to offer their mediation to the contending powers, and to oblige France to adhere to this alternative, and Spain to accept it⁴⁸. A defensive alliance was at the same time concluded between England and Holland; and Sweden, soon after, concurred in the treaty.

This alliance, which has always been considered as the wisest measure in the disgraceful reign of Charles, restored England to her proper station in the scale of Europe, and greatly exalted the consequence of Holland. Yet it is somewhat surprising, that the same confederacy which was concerted to put a stop to the conquests of Louis, did not also require a positive renunciation of his unjust pretensions to the Spanish succession; for, if his former renunciations were not preclusive of the supposed rights accruing to his queen on the death of her father, they could be no bar to the rights that would accrue to her and her children on the death of her brother, whose languishing state of health left no room to hope that he could live to have offspring. But our surprise on this account ceases, when we are told, that the king of England was actuated by no views of general policy; that to acquire a temporary popularity with his subjects, to ruin de Wit by detaching him from France, and, in consequence of his fall, to raise the family of Orange, were Charles's only motives for standing forth as the head of the triple alliance⁴⁹.—It gave, however, at the time, great satisfaction to the contracting powers, and filled the negotiators with the highest joy. "At Breda, as friends!"—cried Temple;—"here, as brothers!"

48 Temple at first insisted on an offensive league between England and Holland, in order to oblige France to relinquish all her conquests: but this de Wit considered as too strong a measure to be agreed to by the states. The French monarch, he said, was young, haughty, and powerful; and, if treated in so imperious a manner, would expose himself to all extremities rather than submit. Temple's Memoirs, part i.

49 Mem. de Gourville, tome ii.—See also Macpherson's Hist. of Britain, vol. i. and Dalrymple's Append.

and de Wit added, "Now the business is finished, it looks like a miracle⁵⁰."

France and Spain were equally displeased at the terms of this treaty. Louis was enraged to find limits set to his ambition; for, although his own offer was made the basis of the league, that offer had only been thrown out with a view of allaying the jealousy of the neighbouring powers, and keeping them in a state of inaction, till he had reduced the whole ten provinces of the Low Countries. Spain was no less dissatisfied at the thought of being obliged to give up so many important places, on account of such unjust claims and unprovoked hostilities. At length, however, both agreed to treat, and plenipotentiaries met at Aix-la-Chapelle; where Spain, from a consciousness of her weakness, accepted the alternative offered by France, but in a way that occasioned general surprise, and gave great uneasiness to the Dutch. Louis, under pretence of enforcing the peace, had entered Franche-Comté, and reduced the whole province in a few weeks. Spain chose to recover this territory, and to abandon all the towns conquered in the preceding campaign⁵¹; so that the French monarch extended his garrisons into the heart of the Low Countries, and but a slender barrier remained to the United Provinces. But as the triple alliance guaranteed the remaining provinces of Spain, and the emperor and the German princes, whose interests appeared to require its support, were invited to enter into the same confederacy, Louis, it was thought, could entertain no views of prosecuting his conquests in the quarter which lay most exposed to his ambition.

Other circumstances seemed to combine to ensure the balance of Europe. After a war of almost thirty years, carried on by Spain, in order to recover the sovereignty of Portugal, and attended with various success, an equitable treaty had at last been concluded between the two crowns, in consequence of which the independence of Portugal was acknowledged⁵². Being freed

50 Temple's Mem. part i.

51 *Id. ibid.*

52 This treaty, which was concluded through the mediation of the king of England, and to which a body of English troops had greatly contributed by their valour, was partly connected with an extraordinary revolution. Alphonso VI. (son of the famous duke of Braganza, who had encouraged the Portuguese to shake off the Spanish yoke, and who was rewarded with the crown,) a weak and profligate prince, had offended his subjects by suffering himself to be governed by the mean companions of his pleasures. His queen, daughter of the duke of Nemours, attracted by the more agreeable qualities of his brother Don Pedro, forsook his bed, and fled to a monastery. She accused him of debility both of body and mind, sued for a divorce, and put herself, in the mean time, under the protection of the church. A faction seized the wretched Alphonso, who was confined in the island of Tercera; while his brother, who immediately married the queen, was declared regent of the kingdom in an assembly of the states. (Vertot, Hist. des Révolutions de Port.) Pedro, who was a prince of abilities, was preparing to assert with vigour the independence of his country, when it was established by a treaty in the beginning of the year 1668.

from this enemy, Spain might be expected to exert greater vigour in defence of her possessions in the Low Countries ; and the satisfaction expressed in England on account of the late treaty, promised the most hearty concurrence of the parliament in every measure that should be proposed for diminishing or checking the dangerous power and greatness of France.

But the bold ambition of Louis, aided by the pernicious policy of the faithless Charles, soon broke through all restraints ; and as we shall afterwards have occasion to see, set at defiance more formidable confederacies than the Triple League.

LETTER XIII.

The General View of the Affairs of Europe continued from the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1668, to the Peace of Nimeguen, in 1678.

AS the most trivial causes frequently produce the greatest events, in like manner, my dear Philip, ambition will often seize and make use of the slightest circumstances as a pretext for its devastations—for deluging the earth with blood, and trampling upon the rights of mankind. Though Louis XIV. was highly incensed at the republic of Holland, for pretending to prescribe limits to his conquests, and had resolved upon revenge ; yet his resentment seems to have been more particularly roused by the arrogance of Van Beuningen, the Dutch ambassador. This republican, who, although but a burgomaster of Amsterdam, possessed the vivacity of a courtier and the abilities of a statesman, took a peculiar pleasure in mortifying the pride of the French monarch, when employed in negotiating the treaty at Aix-la-Chapelle. “ Will you not trust to the king’s word ? ”—said M. de Lionne to him in a conference. “ I know not what the king *will* do,” replied he :—“ but I know what he *can* do¹. ” A medal is also mentioned, though seemingly without foundation, on which Van Beuningen (his Christian name being *Joshua*,) was represented, in allusion to the Scripture, as arresting the sun in his course :—and the sun was the device chosen for Louis XIV. by his flatterers² ! It is certain, however, that the

¹ Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. viii.

² Voltaire, *chap.* xi.

states ordered a medal to be struck, on which, in a pompous inscription, the republic is said to have conciliated kings, and restored tranquillity to Europe.

These were unpardonable affronts in the eyes of a young and haughty monarch, surrounded by minions and mistresses, and stimulated by an insatiable thirst of glory. But while Louis was making preparations for chastising the insolence of the Dutch, or rather for the conquest of Holland, his love of fame was attracted by a new object, and part of his forces employed against an enemy more deserving the indignation of the *Most Christian King*.

The Turks, after a long interval of inaction, had again become formidable to Europe. The grand vizir, Kupruli, who at once directed the councils and conducted the armies of the Porte, had entered Hungary at the head of eighty thousand men, in 1664; and although he was defeated in a great battle, near St. Gothard upon the Raab, by the imperial troops under the famous Montecuculi, the Turks obtained a favourable peace from Leopold, who was threatened with a revolt of the Hungarians. The Hungarian nobles, whose privileges had been invaded by the emperor, flew to arms, and even craved the assistance of their ancient enemies the Turks. The rebels were quickly subdued by the vigour of Leopold. But the majority of that brave people, who had so often repelled the infidels, and tilled, with the sword in their hand, a country watered with the blood of their ancestors, were still dissatisfied; and Germany itself, deprived of so strong a barrier as Hungary, was soon menaced by the Turks.

In the mean time Kupruli turned the arms of the Porte against the Venetians; and an army of sixty thousand Janisaries, under that able and experienced general, invested the capital of Candia in 1667, after a war of twenty-two years had been carried on between the Turks and the possessors of the island. The time of the crusades was long past, and the ardour which inspired them, extinguished. Though this island was reputed one of the chief bulwarks of Christendom against the infidels, no general confederacy had been formed for its defence. The pope and the knights of Malta were the only allies of the Venetians, against the whole naval and military force of the Ottoman empire. At length, however, the French king, whose love of glory had made him assist the emperor against the Turks
A. D. 1669. even in Hungary, sent a fleet from Toulon to the relief of Candia, with seven thousand men on board, under the duke of Beaufort. But as no other Christian prince imitated

his example, these succours served only to retard the conquest of that important island. The duke was killed in a sally; and the town, being reduced to a heap of ruins, was surrendered to Kupruli³. The Turks, during this siege, discovered a considerable knowledge of the military art; and Mo-
Sept. 16.
rosini, the Venetian admiral, and Montbrun, who commanded the troops of the republic, made all the exertions, and took advantage of all the circumstances, that seemed possible for valour and conduct in opposition to such superior armaments.

These distant operations did not for a moment divert the attention of Louis from his favourite project, the conquest of the Low Countries, which he intended to resume with the invasion of Holland. But, in order to render that project successful, it seemed necessary to detach England from the Triple Alliance. This was no difficult matter.

Since the exile of lord Clarendon, which had been preceded by the death of the earl of Southampton, and was soon followed by that of the duke of Albemarle, Charles, having no man of principle to be a check upon his conduct, had given up his mind to arbitrary counsels. These counsels were directed by five persons, denominated the *CABAL* from the initial letters of their names; Clifford, Ashley, Buckingham, Arlington, and Lauderdale: all men of abilities, but destitute of either public or private virtue. They had flattered their sovereign in his desire of absolute power, and encouraged him to hope that he might accomplish it by a close connexion with France⁴. They argued, that Louis, if gratified in his ambition, would be found both able and willing to defend the common cause of kings against usurping subjects; that the conquest of the United Provinces, undertaken by two such potent monarchs, would prove an easy enterprise, and effectually contribute to the attainment of the great purpose desired; that, under pretence of the Dutch war, the king might levy a military force, without which he could never hope to maintain or enlarge his prerogative; and that, by subduing the republic of Holland, a great step would be made toward a desirable change in the English government; as it was evident that the fame and grandeur of that commonwealth for-

³ Voltaire, *ubi sup.*—Henault, 1669.

⁴ Charles's desire of absolute power seems to have proceeded more from a love of ease and an indolence of temper, than from any inclination to oppress his subjects. He wished to be able to raise the necessary supplies without the trouble of managing the parliament. But as his profusion was boundless, and his necessities in consequence of it were very great, it may be questioned whether, if he had accomplished his aim, he would not have loaded his people with taxes beyond what they could easily bear. At any rate, the attempt was atrocious; was treason against the constitution, and ought to be held in eternal detestation.

tified his majesty's factious subjects in their attachment to what they vainly termed their civil and religious liberties⁵.

But although such were the views of the king, and such the sentiments of his ministers, so conscious was Charles of the criminality of the measures he meant to pursue, that two only of the unprincipled members of the Cabal were thought fit to be trusted with his whole scheme; Clifford and Arlington, both secretly Catholics. By the counsels of these men, in conjunction with the duke of York and some other papists, was concluded at Paris, by the lord Arundel of Wardour, a secret treaty with France; in which it was agreed, not only that Charles should co-operate in the conquest of the Low Countries, and in the ruin of the Dutch republic, but that he should propagate to the utmost of his power, the Catholic faith in his dominions, and publicly declare himself a convert to that religion⁶. In consideration of this last article, he was to be favoured with a pension of two hundred thousand pounds, and a body of troops, if the change of his religion should occasion a rebellion in England; and, by another article, he was to receive an annual subsidy of 800,000 pounds during the war, that he might be enabled to act without the assistance of parliament⁷.

To concert measures conformable to this alliance, and to conceal from the world, and even from the majority of the Cabal, the secret treaty with France, a pompous farce was acted, and
 A. D. 1670. an important negotiation managed by a woman of twenty-five. Louis, under pretence of visiting his late conquests, but especially the great works he was erecting at Dunkirk, made a journey thither, accompanied with his whole court, and preceded or followed by thirty thousand men; some destined to reinforce the garrisons, some to work on the fortifications, and others to level the roads. Henrietta Maria of England, a beautiful and accomplished princess, who had been married to the duke of Orléans, brother of Louis, took this opportunity of visiting her native country, as if attracted by its vicinity. Her brother Charles met her at Dover; where was concluded, between France and England, a mock treaty, perfectly similar to the real one, except in the article of religion, which was totally omitted; and where, amid festivity and amusements, it was finally resolved to begin with the Dutch war, as a prelude to the establishment of popery and arbitrary sway in Great Britain⁸.

⁵ Boling. Stud. Hist.—Hume, vol. vii.

⁶ The time when this declaration should be made, was left to Charles; who, at the prospect of being able to re-unite his kingdoms to the Catholic church, is said to have wept for joy. King James's Mem.

⁷ King James.—See also Dalrymple's Append.

⁸ King James's Mem.—Beside his eagerness for the conquest of Holland, Louis was apprehensive that, if Charles should begin with a declaration of his religion, to which he seem-

Soon after this negotiation, so pleasing to the French, and so disgraceful to the English monarch, died his sister, the duchess of Orléans, the brightest ornament of the court of Versailles, and the favourite of her family. Her death was sudden, and not without violent suspicions of poison; yet it made no alteration in the conduct of Charles. Always prodigal, he hoped, in consequence of this new alliance, to have his necessities amply supplied by the liberality of France and the spoils of Holland. And Louis, well acquainted with the fluctuating counsels of England, had taken care also to bind the king to his interests by a tie, yet stronger, if possible, than that of his wants—by the enslaving chain of his pleasures. When the duchess of Orléans arrived at Dover, she brought among her attendants, at the desire of the French monarch, a beautiful young lady of the name of Querouaille, who made the desired impression upon Charles. He sent proposals to her; his offers were accepted; and although the fair favourite, in order to preserve appearances, went back to France with her mistress, she soon returned to England. The king, in the first transports of his passion, created her duchess of Portsmouth; and as he continued attached to her during the remainder of his life, she may be supposed to have been highly instrumental in continuing his connexions with her native country.

Louis, now sure of the friendship of Charles, and having almost completed his preparations for the invasion of the United Provinces, took the first step toward the accomplishment of that object. There were two ways of leading an army from France into the territories of the republic: one lay through the Spanish Netherlands, the other through the dominions of the German princes upon the Rhine. The permission of marching through the former was not to be expected: to force a passage appeared dangerous and difficult: it was therefore resolved to attempt one through the latter. The petty princes upon the Rhine, it was presumed, might be corrupted with ease, or insulted with safety; but as it was necessary first to enter the territories of the duke of Lorraine, whose concurrence Louis thought it impossible to gain, on account of the memory of former injuries, he resolved to seize the dominions of a prince whom he could not hope to reconcile to his views. He accordingly ordered the *mareschal de Crequi*, in breach of the faith of treaties, and in the

ed inclined, it might create such troubles in England as would prevent him from receiving any assistance from that kingdom; a circumstance which weighed more with the French monarch, notwithstanding his bigotry, than the propagation of the Catholic faith. (*Dalrymple's Append.*) The duke of York, on the other hand, wished to begin with religion, foreseeing that Louis, after serving his own purposes, would no longer trouble himself about England. *King James's Mem.*

height of security and peace, to enter Lorrain with a powerful army. The duchy was subdued in a short time; and the duke took refuge in the city of Cologne.

This enterprise, which seemed only a prelude to farther violences, gave great alarm to the continental powers, though they were ignorant of its final purpose; and Louis in vain endeavoured to justify his conduct, by the allegation of dangerous intrigues at the court of Lorrain⁹. Charles, though under no apprehensions from the ambition of the French monarch, took advantage of the general terror, to demand a large supply from his parliament. He informed the two houses, by the mouth of the lord-keeper Bridgeman, that both France and Holland were arming by sea and land, and that prudence dictated similar preparations to England. He also urged the necessity imposed upon him by the Triple Alliance, of maintaining a respectable fleet and army, in order to enable him to preserve the tranquillity of Europe. Deceived by these representations, the commons voted two millions and a half¹⁰; a grant unusually ample, and surely for the most detestable purpose that ever an abused people voluntarily aided their prince.

But neither this grant nor the remittances from France were equal to the accumulated necessities of the crown. Both were lost in the mysterious vortex of old demands and new profusions, before a fleet of fifty sail was ready to put to sea. A. D. 1671. The king would not venture to re-assemble the parliament; for, although the treaty with France was yet a secret, though the nation was still ignorant of his treasonable designs against the religion and liberties of his subjects, the duke of York, the presumptive heir of the crown, had at last declared himself a Catholic, and a general alarm was spread of popery and arbitrary power. Some new expedient was therefore necessary, in order to raise money to complete the naval preparations; and, by the advice of sir Thomas Clifford, one of the cabal, who was rewarded for his pernicious counsels with a peerage, it was resolved to shut the exchequer; to pay no money advanced upon the security of the funds, but to secure all the payments that should be made by the officers of the revenue, for the public service¹¹.

9 Suite de Mezeray.—Henault, vol. ii.

10 Journals, Oct. 24, 1670. As this liberal grant is a sufficient proof, that, if Charles had acted conformably to the wishes of his people, he would have had no reason to accuse the parliament of parsimony, it may be considered as a final refutation of all apologies for his conduct founded on such a supposition.

11 The hardships attending this measure will better be understood by a short explanation. It had been usual for the bankers to carry their money to the exchequer, where they received interest for it; and to advance it upon the security of the funds on which the parliament had charged the supplies, and out of which they were repaid, when the money was levied

This arbitrary measure occasioned great consternation in the city : the bankers failed, the merchants could not answer their bills, and a stagnation of commerce ^{A. D. 1672.} was the consequence. The king and his ministers, however, seemed to enjoy the general confusion and distress. Charles, in particular, was so pleased at being able to supply his wants without the aid of parliament, and so confident of success in the war with Holland, which he thought could not last above one campaign, that he became regardless of the complaints of his subjects ; discovered strong symptoms of a despotic spirit ; and exercised several acts of power utterly inconsistent with a limited government¹². But his first hostile enterprise was ill calculated to encourage such hopes, or support such arbitrary proceedings. Before the declaration of war, an insidious and unsuccessful attempt was made upon the Dutch fleet returning from Smyrna, valued at near two millions sterling, by an English squadron under sir Robert Holmes. And Charles had the infamy of violating the faith of treaties, without obtaining such advantage as could justify the measure on the principles of political prudence.

Though the preparations of England could not escape notice, it was not fully believed in Holland that they could be intended against the states before this act of hostility, which ^{March 17.} was immediately followed by a declaration of war.

As Louis had taken offence at certain insolent speeches, and pretended *medals*, Charles, after complaining of a Dutch fleet, on its own coast, not striking the flag to an English yacht, mentioned certain *abusive pictures*, as a cause of quarrel. The Dutch were at a loss for the meaning of this last article, until it was discovered, that a portrait of Cornelius de Wit, brother to the pensionary, painted by order of the magistrates of Dordrecht, and hung up in a chamber of the town-house, had given occasion to the complaint. In the back-ground of that picture, were drawn some ships on fire in a harbour, construed to be Chatham, near which port de Wit had really distinguished himself. But little did he or his countrymen think, that an obscure allusion to that act of open hostility would rouse the resentment of England. In a word, reasons more false and frivolous were never employed to justify a flagrant breach of treaty¹³.

The French monarch, in his declaration of war, affected greater dignity. He did not condescend to specify particulars ;

upon the public. One million four hundred thousand pounds had been advanced upon the faith of the money-bills passed in the last session of parliament, when the exchequer was shut : R. Coke, p. 168.

¹² Rapin, vol. ii. fol. edit.—Hume, vol. vii.—Macpherson. vol. i.

¹³ Hume, vol. vii.—Voltaire, Siècle, chap. ix.

he only pretended that the insolence of the Hollanders had been such, that it did not consist with his *glory* any longer to bear it. They had incurred his displeasure, and he denounced vengeance. This indignant language was ill suited to deliberate violence and injustice ; but the haughty Louis had now completed his preparations, and his ambition was flattered with the most promising views of success.

The grand scheme of despotic ambition was now disclosed ; and the unprincipled confederates prepared to act with extraordinary vigour. Sweden, as well as England, had been detached from the Triple League, by the intrigues of Louis, in order to be a check upon the emperor. The bishop of Munster, a war-like and rapacious prelate, was engaged by the payment of subsidies and the hopes of plunder to take part with France. The elector of Cologne had also agreed to act offensively against the states ; and, when he had consigned Bonne and other towns into the hands of Louis, magazines were there erected, and it was proposed to invade the United Provinces from that quarter. The united fleets of France and England, exceeding a hundred sail, were ready to ravage the coasts ; and a hundred and twenty thousand men, led by the ablest generals of the age, approached the frontiers of the republic.

The Dutch were in no condition to resist such a force, especially by land. The security and general tranquillity which had followed the peace of Westphalia, the subsequent connexions of the states with France, the growing spirit of commerce, and even their wars with England, had made them neglect their military force, and throw all their strength into the navy. Their very fortifications, on which they had formerly rested their existence, were suffered to go out of repair ; and their small army was ill disciplined, and worse commanded. The old officers, who were chiefly devoted to the house of Orange, had been dismissed during the triumph of the rigid republican party, and their places supplied by raw youths, the sons or kinsmen of burgomasters, by whose interest that party was supported. These new officers, relying on the credit of their friends and family, paid no attention to their military duty. Some of them, it is said, were even allowed to serve by deputies, to whom they assigned a small part of their pay⁴.

The pensionary, now sensible of his error in relying too implicitly on the faith of treaties, attempted to remedy these abuses, and to raise a respectable military force for the defence of his country, in this dangerous crisis. But every proposal which he made to that effect was counteracted by the partisans of the house of Orange, who ascribed to his misconduct alone

the defenceless state of the republic ; and their power, which had increased with the difficulties of the states, had become formidable by the popularity of the young prince William III., now in the twenty-second year of his age, who had already given strong indications of the great qualities which afterwards distinguished his active life. For these qualities William was not a little indebted to his generous and patriotic rival de Wit ; who, conscious of the precarious situation of his own party, had given the prince an excellent education, and instructed him in all the principles of government and sound policy, in order to render him capable of serving his country, if any future emergency should throw the government into his hands¹⁵.

The conduct of William had hitherto been highly deserving of approbation, and such as could not fail to recommend him to his countrymen. Though encouraged by Charles and the elector of Brandenburg to aim at the dignity of stadtholder, he had expressed his resolution of depending entirely on the states for his advancement. The whole tenor of his behaviour was extremely suitable to the genius of the Hollanders. Grave and silent, even in youth ; ready to hear, and to inquire ; destitute of brilliant talents, but possessing a sound and steady intellect ; greatly intent on business, little inclined to pleasure, he strongly engaged the attachment of his countrymen. And the people, remembering what they owed to his family, which had so gloriously protected them against the exorbitant power of Spain, were desirous of raising him to all the authority of his ancestors ; as the leader whose valour and conduct could alone deliver them from the alarming danger with which they were threatened. In consequence of this general predilection, William was appointed commander in chief of the forces of the republic, and the whole military power was put into his hands. New levies were made, and the army was completed to the number of seventy thousand men. But raw troops could not instantly acquire discipline or experience : and the friends of the prince were still dissatisfied, because the Perpetual Edict, by which he was excluded from the office of stadtholder, was not yet revoked. The struggle between the parties continued ; and, by their mutual animosities, the vigour of every public measure was broken, and the execution of every project retarded.

De Wit, still attending to the navy in preference to the army, hastened the equipment of the fleet ; in hopes that by striking at first a successful blow, he might be able to inspire courage into the dismayed states, as well as support his declining authority. Animated by the same hopes, de Ruyter, his firm adherent, and

the greatest naval officer of the age, put to sea with ninety large ships, and forty smaller vessels of war.

The English fleet, under the duke of York and the earl of Sandwich, had already joined the French fleet, commanded by count d'Estrées. With this junction the Dutch were unacquainted, and hoped to take signal vengeance on the English for their perfidious attempt on the Smyrna fleet. When May 28. de Ruyter came in sight, the combined fleet, to the number of a hundred and twenty sail, lay at anchor in Southwold Bay. The earl of Sandwich, who had before warned the duke of the danger of being surprised in such a posture, but whose advice had been slighted as savouring of timidity, now hastened out of the bay : where the Dutch, by their fire ships, might have destroyed the whole fleet of their adversaries. Though determined to conquer or perish, he so tempered his courage with prudence, that the combined fleet was evidently indebted to him for its safety. He commanded the van; and, by his vigour and despatch, gave the duke of York and d'Estrées time to disengage themselves. Rushing into battle, and presenting a front to every danger, he had drawn the chief attention of the enemy. He killed Van Ghent, a Dutch admiral, and beat off his ship, after a furious engagement : he sunk a man of war, and three fire ships that endeavoured to grapple with him. Though his own ship was much shattered, and of nine hundred men whom he had on board, two thirds were killed or wounded, he still continued to thunder with all his artillery, and to set the enemy at defiance, until he was attacked by a fourth fire ship more fortunate than the three others. The ruin of his ship was now inevitable ; yet he refused to make his escape¹⁶. So deep had the duke's sarcasm sunk into his mind, that a brave death, in those awful moments, appeared to him the only refuge from ignominy, since his utmost efforts had not been attended with victory.

During this terrible conflict between Van Ghent's division and the earl of Sandwich, the duke of York and de Ruyter were not idle. The duke bore down upon the Dutch admiral, and fought with such fury for two hours, that of thirty-two actions in which the hoary veteran had been engaged, he declared that this was the most vigorously disputed. Night put a stop to the doubtful contest. The next morning, the duke of York thought it prudent to retire¹⁷. The Dutch, though much disabled, attempted to harass him in his retreat : he turned upon them, and

16 Burnet.—Temple.—King James, in his Memoirs, makes no mention of any disagreement with the earl of Sandwich : but this silence is surely insufficient to weigh against the general testimony of other contemporary writers. It was a circumstance not to his honour, and was therefore likely to be concealed. His account of the battle seems in other respects accurate.

17 King James's Mem.

renewed the fight; and sir Joseph Jordan (who had assumed the command of the van) having gained the weather-gage of the enemy, de Ruyter fled, from a sense of his danger, and was pursued by the duke to the coast of Holland. As the English hung close to the rear, fifteen of his disabled ships could only have been saved by a sudden fog. The French had scarcely any share in this action; and, as backwardness is not their national characteristic, it was universally believed, that they had received orders to remain at a distance, while the English and Dutch were weakening each other; an opinion which was confirmed by all the subsequent engagements during the war.

It was certainly honourable for the Dutch to have fought the combined fleet with so little loss; but if they had even been victorious on this occasion, the mischiefs which threatened them by land would not perhaps have been prevented.

The king of France divided his numerous army into three bodies. The first he headed in person, assisted by the famous Turenne; the prince of Condé led the second; and Camilli and Luxembourg commanded the third. The armies of the elector of Cologne and the bishop of Munster appeared on the other side of the Rhine, and divided the force and attention of the states. Too weak to defend their extensive frontier, the Dutch troops were scattered into so many towns, that no considerable body appeared in the field; and yet a strong garrison was scarcely to be found in any fortress. Orsoy, Wesel, Rhinberg, and Burick, were taken, almost as soon as invested, by the French generals. Groll surrendered to the bishop of Munster; and Louis, to the universal consternation of the Hollanders, advanced in June to the banks of the Rhine¹⁸.

The passage of that river, so much celebrated by the flatterers of Louis, had in it nothing extraordinary. The extreme dryness of the season, in addition to the other misfortunes of the Dutch, had much diminished the greatest rivers, and rendered many of them, in some places, fordable. The French cavalry, animated by the presence of their prince, and protected by a furious discharge of artillery, threw themselves into the Rhine, and had only a few fathoms to swim: the infantry, with the king at the head, passed quietly over a bridge of boats; and as only a few Dutch regiments, without any cannon, appeared on the other side, the peril was not very alarming¹⁹.

The attempt, however, was bold, and its success augmented

¹⁸ Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. ix.—Henault.

¹⁹ The notion which generally prevailed of this passage at Paris, was, that all the French forces had passed the Rhine by swimming, in the face of an army entrenched on the other side, and amidst the fire of artillery from an impregnable fortress called the *Tolhuys*. Voltaire, *ubi sup*.

the glory of Louis and the terror of his arms. Arnheim immediately surrendered to Turenne ; and Schenck, which had formerly sustained a siege of eight months, was now reduced in less than a week. Nimeguen, and a number of other towns, were delivered up on the first summons ; and the prince of Orange, unable to make head against the victorious enemy, retired into the province of Holland with his small and discouraged army. The progress of Louis, like the course of an inundation, levelled every thing before it. The town and province of Utrecht sent deputies to implore his clemency. Naerden, within thirteen miles of Amsterdam, was reduced by the marquis of Rochefort ; and, if he had taken possession of Muyden, the keys of which were delivered to some of his advanced parties, but recovered by the magistrates when the moment of terror was over, Amsterdam itself must have fallen, and with it perhaps the republic of Holland.

But this opportunity being neglected, the states had leisure to recollect themselves ; and the same ambitious vanity, which had induced the French monarch to undertake the conquest of the United Provinces, proved the means of their preservation. Louis entered Utrecht in triumph, surrounded by a splendid court, and followed by a gallant army, glittering with gold and silver. Poets and historians attended to celebrate his exploits, and transmit the fame of his victories to posterity. In the course of a few weeks, the provinces of Guelderland, Utrecht, and Overysse, had submitted to his arms : Friseland and Groningen were invaded by the bishop of Munster ; and only the reduction of Holland and Zealand seemed necessary to crown his enterprise. But he wasted in vain parade at Utrecht the season proper for that purpose.

The people of the remaining province, instead of collecting courage and unanimity from the approach of danger, became still more a prey to faction, and ungovernable and outrageous from their fears. They ascribed all their misfortunes to the unhappy de Wit, whose prudence and patriotism had formerly been the object of such general applause. Not only the bad state of the army, and the ill choice of governors, were imputed to him, but, as instances of cowardice multiplied, treachery was suspected ; and his former connexions with France being remembered, the populace believed that he and his party had conspired to betray them to their ambitious enemy. Under this apprehension, and perhaps from a hope of disarming the resentment of the king of England, the torrent of popular favour ran strongly toward the prince of Orange, who was represented as the only person able to save the republic. The pensiona-

ry and his partisans, however, unwilling to relinquish their authority, still opposed the repeal of the Perpetual Edict; and hence the distracted counsels of the states continued to endanger the country.

Amsterdam alone, amid the general despondency, seemed to retain any degree of courage or conduct. The magistrates obliged the burgesses to keep strict watch; the populace, whom want of employment might engage to mutiny, were maintained by regular pay, and armed and disciplined for the public defence. Ships were stationed to guard the city by sea; and, as a last resource, the sluices were opened and the neighbouring country was laid under water, without regard to the fertile fields, the numerous villas, and flourishing villages, which were overwhelmed by the inundation²⁰! The whole province followed the example of the capital. But the security derived from this expedient was not sufficient to infuse courage into the dejected states. The body of the nobles, and eleven towns, voted to send ambassadors to the hostile kings, in order to supplicate peace. They offered to surrender Maestricht, and all the frontier towns situated beyond the limits of the Seven Provinces, and to pay a large sum toward the expenses of the war. Fortunately for the republic and for Europe, these conditions were rejected. Louis, in the absence of Turenne, listened to the violent counsels of Louvois, whose unreasonable demands threw the states into a despair that overcame their fears. The demands of Charles were not more moderate. The terms required by the prince and his haughty ally would have deprived the commonwealth of all security, by sea as well as by land, and have reduced it to a state of perpetual dependence. Yet were the provinces still agitated by the animosities of faction. Enraged to find their country enfeebled by party jealousy, when its very political existence was threatened, the people rose at Dordrecht, and forced their magistrates to sign the July 5. repeal of the Perpetual Edict. Other towns followed the example, and the prince of Orange was declared stadtholder. This revolution, so favourable to the defence of the republic, was followed by a lamentable tragedy. The talents and virtues of the pensionary de Wit marked him out as a sacrifice to the vengeance of the Orange party, now triumphant. But popular fury prevented the interposition of power. His brother Cornelius, who had so often served his country with his sword, was accused, by a man of an infamous character, of endeavouring to bribe him to poison the prince of Orange. The accusation, though attended with the most improbable circumstances,

20 Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. iv.—*Temple's Mem.* part ii

was greedily received by the credulous multitude, and even by the magistrates. Cornelius was cited before a court of judicature, and put to the torture, in order to draw a confession of his crime. He bore with the most intrepid firmness all that cruelty could inflict : but he was deprived of his employments, and sentenced to banishment for life. The pensionary, who had supported his brother through the whole prosecution, resolved not to desert him in his disgrace. He accordingly went to his prison, intending to accompany him to the place of his exile.—The signal was given to the populace. They broke open the prison doors : they pulled out the two brothers ; wounded, mangled, and brutally tore them to pieces²¹.

The massacre of these obnoxious citizens, by extinguishing for a time the animosities of party, gave vigour and unanimity to the councils of the states. All men, from fear, inclination, or prudence, concurred in paying the most implicit obedience to the prince of Orange; and William, worthy of that heroic family from which he was descended, adopted sentiments becoming the head of a brave and free people. He exhorted them to reject with scorn the humiliating conditions demanded by their imperious enemies ; and, by his advice, the states put an end to negotiations which had served only to depress the courage of the citizens, and delay the assistance of their allies. He showed them, that, aided by the advantages of their situation, they would still be able, if they should not abandon themselves to despondency, to preserve the remaining provinces, until the other nations of Europe, sensible of their common danger, could come to their relief. And he professed himself willing to undertake their defence, provided they would second his efforts with the same manly fortitude, which they had so often displayed under his illustrious predecessors.

The spirit of the young prince seemed to diffuse itself through the whole republic. The people, who had lately entertained only the thought of yielding their necks to subjection, now bravely determined to resist the haughty victor, and to defend the remnant of their native soil; of which neither the arms of Louis nor the inundation had yet bereaved them. Should even the ground on which they might combat fail them, to use the forcible language of Hume, they were still resolved not to yield the generous strife, but, flying to their settlements in the East Indies, erect a new empire in the south of Asia, and preserve alive even in the climates of slavery, that liberty of which Europe was unworthy. They had already concerted measures, we are told, for this extraordinary resolution ; and found, that the ships in their har-

²¹ Temple's Mem. part ii. See also Burnet, Basnage, and Le Clerc

bours adequate to such a voyage, were capable of carrying fifty thousand families, or about two hundred thousand persons²².

No sooner did the confederate kings perceive the new spirit with which the Dutch were animated, than they bent all their efforts to corrupt the prince of Orange. They offered him the sovereignty of the province of Holland, to be enjoyed under the protection of France and England, and secured against the invasion of foreign enemies, as well as the revolt of his own subjects. But William, from motives of prudence, if not patriotism, rejected all such proposals. He was sensible that the season of extreme danger was over, and that the power which he had lately derived from the suffrages of his countrymen, was both more honourable and less precarious, than that which must depend on princes, who had already sacrificed their faith to their ambition. He therefore declared, that he would sooner retire, if all his endeavours should fail, and pass his life in hunting on his lands in Germany, than betray the trust reposed in him, by selling the liberties of his country²³. And when asked, in a haughty tone, if he did not see that his country was already ruined, he firmly replied, "There is one way, by which I can be certain never see the ruin of my country; and that is, to die in disputing the last ditch²⁴!"

The Dutch, however, were much disappointed in finding that the elevation of the prince of Orange to the dignity of stadtholder had no influence on the measures of his uncle, the king of England. Charles persisted in his alliance with France. But other circumstances saved the republic. When the hostile fleets approached the coast of Holland, with an army on board commanded by count Schomberg, they were carried back to sea in so wonderful a manner, and afterward prevented from landing the forces, by such stormy weather, that providence was believed to have interposed miraculously to prevent the ruin of the Hollanders²⁵; and Louis, finding that his enemies gained courage behind their inundations, and that no farther progress was likely to be made by his arms during the campaign, had retired to Versailles, in order to enjoy the glory of his success, which was pompously displayed in poems, orations, and triumphal arches. Meanwhile the other states of Europe began to discover a jealousy of the power of France. A. D. 1673.

²² Burnet, book ii.—Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. ix.—The reflections of Voltaire on this subject are truly ingenious and striking. "Amsterdam, the emporium and the magazine of Europe, wherein commerce and the arts are cultivated by three hundred thousand inhabitants, would soon, in that event, have become one vast morass. All the adjacent lands, which require immense expense, and many thousands of men, to keep up their dykes, would again have been overwhelmed by that ocean from which they had been gained, leaving to Louis XIV. only the wretched glory of having destroyed one of the finest and most extraordinary monuments of human industry."

²³ Temple's Mem. part ii.

²⁴ Burnet, book ii.

²⁵ *Id. ibid.*

The emperor, though naturally slow, had put himself in motion; the elector of Brandenburg showed a disposition to support the states; the king of Spain had sent some forces to their assistance; and, by the vigorous efforts of the prince of Orange, and the prospect of relief from their allies, a different face of affairs began to appear.

From none of their friends and allies did the Dutch more confidently expect relief than from the English parliament, which Feb. 4. the king's necessities obliged him at last to convene. But that assembly was too much occupied with domestic grievances, to have leisure to attend to foreign politics. Charles, among his other arbitrary measures, had issued a declaration of general indulgence in religious matters, by which the Catholics were placed on the same footing with the Protestant sectaries. The purpose of this measure was easily foreseen, and excited a general alarm. A remonstrance was framed against such an exercise of prerogative: the king defended his conduct, and the hopes and fears of all men were suspended, in regard to the issue of so extraordinary an affair. Beside his usual guards, Charles had an army encamped on Blackheath under a foreign commander. Many of the officers were of the Catholic religion; and he had reason to expect that his ally, the king of France, would supply him with troops, if force should become necessary for restraining his discontented subjects.

But Charles, although encouraged by his ministers to proceed, was startled when he approached the dangerous precipice; and the same love of ease which had led him to desire arbitrary power, induced him to retract the declaration of indulgence, when he saw what hazard and difficulty there would be in maintaining it. He accordingly called for the writing, March 7. and broke the seals with his own hand²⁶. But the two houses, though highly pleased with this compliance, thought another step necessary for the security of their civil and religious liberties. They passed an act called the *TEN*; by which all persons, holding any public office, beside taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and receiving the sacrament according to the rites of the church of England, were obliged to abjure the doctrine of transubstantiation. Even to this bill the king gave his assent; and the parliament, in recompense for these concessions, granted him a considerable supply for his *extraordinary occasions*, as they expressed themselves, disdaining to mention a war which they abhorred²⁷.

²⁶ Echard.—Burnet.—Rapin.—The people were so transported at this victory over the prerogative, that they expressed, with bonfires and illuminations, their tumultuous joy.

²⁷ Journals, March, 1673.

Charles, though baffled in his favourite project, and obliged tacitly to relinquish the dispensing power of the crown, was still determined to persevere in his alliance with France, in the Dutch war, and consequently in all the secret designs which depended on such pernicious measures. With the money granted by parliament, he was enabled to equip a fleet, the command of which was given to prince Rupert, the duke of York being set aside by the Test. Sir Edward Spragge and the earl of Ossory commanded under the prince.

The English fleet and a French squadron sailed toward the coast of Holland, where three indecisive battles were fought with the Dutch, under de Ruyter and Van Tromp. The Aug. 11. third claims our attention on account of its obstinacy. Tromp fell along the side of Spragge, and both engaged with great spirit. Tromp was compelled once to shift his flag, Spragge twice to quit his ship; and, unfortunately, as the English admiral was passing to a third ship, in order to hoist his flag, and renew the dispute, a shot struck his boat, and he was drowned, to the regret even of his enemies. But the death of this gallant officer did not pass unrevenge. Van Tromp, after the disaster of Spragge, was repulsed, in spite of his most vigorous efforts, by the intrepidity of the earl of Ossory²⁸.

In the mean time a furious combat was maintained between de Ruyter and prince Rupert. Never did the prince acquire more deserved honour; his conduct being no less conspicuous than his valour, which shone with distinguished lustre. When victory had long remained doubtful, the prince threw the Dutch into some confusion; and, in order to increase it, sent two fire-ships among them. They at once took to flight; and had the French, who were masters of the wind, and to whom a signal was made, borne down upon the foe, a decided advantage would have been gained. But they paid no regard to the signal. The English, seeing themselves neglected by their allies, gave over the pursuit; and de Ruyter, with little loss, made good his retreat. The victory as usual, was claimed by both sides²⁹.

While the Dutch thus continued to defend themselves with vigour by sea, fortune was still more favourable to them by land. Though the French monarch took Maestricht, one of their strongest bulwarks, after a siege of twenty days, no other advantage was obtained during the campaign. Naerden was retaken by the prince of Orange; and the imperialists, under Montecuculi, after having in vain attempted against Turenne the passage of the Rhine, eluded the vigilance of that able general, and sat down suddenly before Bonne. The prince of

28 Carte's *Life of the duke of Ormond*.—Burchet, p. 404.

29 Burchet.—Basnage.—Kennet.

Orange, by a conduct no less masterly, leaving behind him the other French generals, joined his army to that of the empire. Bonne surrendered in the autumn, after a short siege. The greater part of the electorate of Cologne was subdued by the Dutch and Germans; and the communication between France and the United Provinces being thus cut off, Louis was obliged to recal his forces, and abandon his conquests with the utmost precipitation³⁰. The very monuments of his glory were not completed, when he returned in disgrace: the triumphal arch at the gate of St. Denis was yet unfinished, after all cause of triumph had ceased³¹!

A congress holden at Cologne, under the mediation of Sweden, was attended with no success. The requisitions of the confederate kings were originally such as must have reduced the Hollanders to perpetual servitude; and although they sunk in their demands, in proportion as the affairs of the states rose, the Dutch fell still lower in their offers; so that it was found impossible for the parties, without some remarkable change of fortune, ever to agree on any conditions. After the French had evacuated Holland, the congress broke up. No longer anxious for their safety, the states were now bent on revenge. Their negotiations at the courts of Vienna and Madrid were approaching to a happy conclusion. Both branches of the house of Austria were alarmed at the ambition of Louis; and the emperor and the Catholic king publicly signed a treaty with the United Provinces before the close of the year. Forgetting her ancient animosities against the republic, in the recent injuries which she had received from the French monarch, Spain immediately issued a declaration of war; and, by a strange reverse in her policy, defended the Dutch against France and England, by whose aid they had become independent of her power!

The boundless ambition of Louis, with the dark designs and mercenary meanness of Charles, which led him to a close alliance with France, had totally changed the system of European policy. But a run of events which it was not in the power of the confederate kings to reverse, at last brought things back to what was usually considered as their natural order. The first of these events was the peace between England and Holland.

When the English parliament met, the commons discovered such strong symptoms of discontent at the late measures of government, that the king, perceiving he could expect no supply for carrying on the war, asked their advice in regard to peace.

Both houses thanked him for his condescension,
Jan. 24, 1674. and unanimously concurred in their advice for a

negotiation. Peace was accordingly concluded with Holland, by the marquis del Fresno, the Spanish ambassador at the court of London, who added the influence of his own court to the other reasons which had induced Charles to listen to terms. The conditions, though not very advantageous, were by no means degrading to England. The honour of the flag was relinquished by the Dutch; all possessions were mutually restored; new regulations of trade were adjusted; and the republic agreed to pay the king about two hundred thousand pounds toward the expense of the war³². Charles bound himself to the states, by a secret article, not to allow the English troops in the French service to be recruited, but would not agree to recal them.—They amounted to ten thousand men, and had greatly contributed to the rapid success of Louis³³.

Though the peace with Holland relieved the king from many of his difficulties, it did not restore him to the confidence of his people, or allay the jealousy of the parliament. Sensible of this jealousy, Charles, who had always been diffident of the attachment of his subjects, still kept up his connexions with France. He apologised to Louis for the step he had taken, by representing the real state of his affairs; and the French monarch, with great complaisance and good humour, admitted the validity of his excuses. To atone farther for deserting his ally, Charles offered his mediation to the contending powers.

Willing to negotiate under so favourable a mediator, the king of France readily acceded to the offer. As it was apprehended, however, that, for a like reason, the allies would be inclined to refuse it, sir William Temple, whose principles were known to be favourable to the general interests of Europe, was invited from his retreat, and appointed ambassador from England to the states. Temple accepted the office. But reflecting on the unhappy issue of his former negotiations, and on the fatal turn of counsels which had occasioned it, he resolved, before he set out on his embassy, to acquaint himself, as far as possible, with the king's real sentiments in regard to those popular measures which he seemed to have resumed. He therefore took occasion, at a private audience, to blame the dangerous schemes and dishonourable counsels of the Cabal³⁴. And when the king seem-

³² Articles of Peace, in the Journals of the Lords.

³³ The king's partiality to France prevented a strict execution of his engagement relative to the recruiting of these troops.

³⁴ The Cabal was now in a manner dissolved. Clifford was dead; and Ashley, created earl of Shaftesbury, had gone over to the popular party, in order to avoid the danger of an impeachment, when he found that the king wanted courage to support his ministers in those measures which he had himself dictated. Buckingham, in consequence of wavering and inconsistent conduct, was become of small account; but Landerdale and Arlington were still of some weight.

ed disposed to vindicate the measures of his ministers, but blamed the means employed to carry them into execution, that patriotic statesman endeavoured to show his sovereign how difficult, if not impossible, it would be, to introduce into England the same system of religion and government that prevailed in France; that the general bent of the nation was against both; that many, who appeared indifferent in regard to all religions, would yet oppose the introduction of popery, as they were sensible it could not be effected without military force, and that the same force, which should enable the king to bring about such a change, would also make him master of their civil liberties; that, in France, it was only necessary for a monarch to gain the nobility and clergy, as the peasants, having no land, were equally insignificant with our women and children—whereas, in England, a great part of the landed property was in the hands of the yeomanry or lower gentry, whose hearts were high with ease and plenty, while the inferior orders in France were dispirited by oppression and want; that a king of England, since the abolition of the feudal policy, could neither raise nor maintain an army, except by the voluntary supplies of his parliament; that if he had an army on foot, it would never, unless it consisted of foreigners, be induced to serve ends which the people so much hated and feared; that the catholics in England were not the hundredth part of the nation, and in Scotland not the two-hundreth; and it seemed against all common sense to hope, by any one part, to govern ninety-nine, who were of different humours and sentiments; that foreign troops, if few, would serve only to inflame hatred and discontent; and to bring over at once, and maintain many (for no less than sixty thousand would be necessary, to subdue the spirit and liberties of the nation), would be extremely difficult, if not absolutely impracticable³⁵.

These reasonings Temple endeavoured to enforce by the authority of Gourville, a French statesman, who had resided some time in England, and for whose judgment he knew Charles had great respect. “A king of England——” said Gourville, on hearing of our dissensions——“who will be the MAN of his *People*, is the greatest king in the world; but if he will be something more, by God! he is nothing at all.” The king, who had listened with impatience at first, seemed now open to conviction: and laying his hand on that of Temple, said with an air of sincerity——“I will be the MAN of *my people*!”³⁶

When sir William went abroad, he found a variety of circumstances likely to defeat the purpose of his embassy. The allies in general, independent of their jealousy of Charles’s me-

35 Temple’s Mem. part. ii. chap. i.

36 Id. *ibid.*

diation, expressed great ardour for the continuance of the war. Spain had engaged Holland to stipulate never to come to an accommodation, untill all things in Flanders should be restored to the same situation in which they were left by the Pyrenean treaty : the emperor had high pretensions on Alsace ; and although the Dutch, oppressed by heavy taxes, might be desirous of peace, they could not, without violating all the principles of honour and policy, abandon those allies to whose protection they had so lately been indebted for their safety. The prince of Orange, who had a preponderating influence in their counsels, and in whose family they had recently decreed the perpetuity of the office of stadtholder, was besides ambitious of military fame, and convinced that it would be in vain to negotiate till a greater impression should be made upon France, as no equitable terms could otherwise be expected from Louis³⁷. The operations of the ensuing campaign did not contribute to this effect.

Louis astonished all Europe by the vigour of his exertions. He had three great armies in the field this summer ; one on the side of Germany, one in Flanders, and one on the frontiers of Roussillon ; and he himself, at the head of a fourth, entered Franche Comté, and quickly subdued the whole province. The taking of Besançon was matter of great triumph to the French monarch. He loved sieges, and is said to have understood them well ; but he never besieged a town without being morally certain of taking it. Louvois prepared all things so effectually, the troops were so well appointed, and Vanban, who conducted most of the sieges, was so great a master in the art of taking towns, that the king's glory was perfectly safe. The town of Besançon was reduced in three weeks, and the conquest of the citadel soon followed. This now became (instead of Dol) the capital of the province.

Nothing of importance happened in Roussillon : but in Flanders, the prince of Condé, with an inferior army, prevented the prince of Orange from entering France by that quarter : and, after long avoiding an engagement, from motives of prudence, he attacked the rear of the confederates, when an opportunity offered, in a narrow defile near Seneffe, a village of Brabant ; threw them into confusion, and took great part of their cannon and baggage. The prince of Orange, however, less remarkable for preventing misfortune than for stopping its progress, rallied his disordered forces ; led them back to the charge ; pushed the veteran troops of France ; and obliged the great Condé to exert more desperate efforts, and hazard his person more than in any action during his life, though now in an advanced age, and

37 Temple, ubi sup.—Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. x.

though he had been particularly distinguished in youth by the impetuosity of his courage. William did not expose his person less. Hence the generous and candid testimony of Condé, forgetful of his own behaviour : " The prince of Orange has acted in every thing like an old captain, except in venturing his life too much like a young soldier³⁸."

The engagement was several times renewed ; and, after sunset, it was continued for two hours by the light of the moon. Darkness at last, not the slackness of the combatants, put an end to the contest, and left the victory undecided. Twelve thousand men lay dead on the field, and the loss on each side was nearly equal³⁹. In order to give an air of superiority to the allies, and to bring the French to a new engagement, the prince of Orange besieged Oudenarde; but the imperial general (the count de Souches) not being inclined to hazard a battle, he was obliged to relinquish his enterprise, on the approach of Condé. Before the close of the campaign, however, after an obstinate siege, he took Grave, the last town which the French held in any of the Seven Provinces⁴⁰.

Turenne, who commanded on the side of Germany, completed that high reputation which he had already acquired, of being the greatest general of his age and nation. He passed the Rhine at Philipsburg, and defeated the old duke of Lorraine, and Caprara, the imperial general, at Sintzheim. With twenty thousand men, he possessed himself of the whole Palatinate, by driving the confederate German princes beyond the Neckar and the Maine. They returned, however, with a very numerous army, while he was in Lorraine, and poured into Alsace, where they intended to pass the winter. He came back upon them unexpectedly; routed the imperialists at Mulhausen, and chased from Colmar the elector of Brandenburg, who commanded the troops of the allied princes. He gained a further advantage at Turkheim ; and having dislodged all the Germans, obliged them to pass the Rhine. But the glory of this success was stained by the cruelties committed in the Palatinate ; where the elector beheld from his castle at Manheim, two cities and twenty-five towns in flames⁴¹, and where lust and rapine walked hand in hand with fire and sword. Stung with rage and revenge at such a spectacle, he challenged Turenne to single combat. The mareschal coolly replied, that he could not accept such a challenge without his master's leave, but was ready to meet the Palatine in the field, at the head of his army, against any which that prince and his new allies could bring together⁴².

38 Temple's Mem. part ii. chap. i.

39 Voltaire, Siècle, chap. xi. 40 Temple, ubi sup.

41 Voltaire, Siècle, chap. xi.

42 Temple's Mem. part. ii.

These events inspired the people of England with the most melancholy apprehensions, but gave sincere satisfaction to the court; and Charles, at the request of the king of France, prorogued the parliament from October to April in the following year, lest the commons should force him to take part with the United Provinces. The price of this prorogation was one hundred thousand pounds⁴³.

Louis, notwithstanding his triumphs, was alarmed at the number of his enemies; and therefore, beside purchasing the neutrality of England, he endeavoured, though in vain, to negotiate a peace with Holland. The events of the next campaign showed that his fears were well grounded. A. D. 1675.

Though he entered Flanders with a great army, commanded by himself and the prince of Condé, he was unable to gain any important advantage over the prince of Orange, who opposed him in all his motions. Neither party was willing, without some peculiarly favourable circumstance, to hazard a general engagement, which might be attended with the utter loss of Flanders, if victory should declare for the French, and with an invasion of France if the king should be defeated. Disgusted at his want of success, Louis returned to Versailles in the summer; and nothing memorable happened in the Low Countries during the campaign.

The campaign was still less favourable to France in other quarters. Turenne was opposed, on the side of Germany, by the celebrated Montecuculi. The object of the latter was to pass the Rhine, and penetrate into Alsace, Lorrain, or Burgundy; that of the former, to guard the frontiers of France, and baffle all schemes of rival hostility. The most consummate skill was displayed on both sides. Both had reduced war to a science, and each was enabled to discover the designs of the other, by judging what he would have done in like circumstances. Turenne, by posting himself on the German side of the Rhine, was enabled not only to prevent Montecuculi from passing that river, but to seize any opportunity that fortune might present. Such a happy moment he thought he had discerned, and was preparing to take advantage of it, by bringing the Germans to a decisive engagement, and his own generalship and that of Montecuculi to a final trial, when a July 27, N. S. period was put to his life by a cannon ball, as he was viewing the position of the enemy, and taking measures for erecting a battery⁴⁴.

The consternation of the French on the loss of their general

⁴³ Dalrymple's Append.—Macpherson's Hist. Brit. chap. iv.

⁴⁴ Temple's Mem. part ii. chap. i.—Henault.—Voltaire.

was inexpressible. Those who a moment before were confident of victory, now thought of nothing but flight. A dispute relative to the command between the count de Lorge, nephew to Turenne, and the marquis de Vaubrun, was added to their grand misfortune. They retreated : Montecuculi pressed them hard; but, by the valour of the English auxiliaries, who brought up the rear, and the abilities of de Lorge, who inherited a considerable share of the genius of his uncle, they were enabled to repass the Rhine without much loss. The prince of Condé came with a reinforcement to supply the place of Turenne; and though he was not, perhaps, in all respects, equal to that accomplished general, he prevented the Germans from establishing themselves in Alsace, and obliged them to return into their own country.

Before the arrival of Condé, a detachment from the German army had been sent to the siege of Treves; an enterprise which the allies had greatly at heart. Crequi having advanced to the relief of the place, the Germans, whom he despised, leaving part of their forces in the lines, advanced to meet him with the main body, under the dukes of Zelland Osnabrug, and totally routed him. He escaped with only four attendants, and, throwing himself into Treves, determined to perish rather than surrender the town. But the garrison, after a gallant defence, resolving not to fall a sacrifice to his obstinacy, capitulated for themselves; and, because he refused to sign the articles, they delivered him into the hands of the enemy⁴⁵.

By a vigorous concurrence with the allies, the king of England might now have regained the confidence of his people and the respect of all Europe. He might have set bounds, for a long period, to the power of France, and have been the happy instrument of preventing the sanguinary effects of Gallic ambition. He was not ignorant of the importance of his situation; but, instead of taking advantage of it to humble Louis, he thought only of acquiring money to squander upon his pleasures, by selling his neutrality to that monarch! A new treaty was accordingly concluded between the two kings, by which they obliged themselves to enter into no treaties without mutual consent; and in which Charles farther agreed, in consideration of an annual pension, to prorogue or dissolve his parliament, should it attempt to force him to declare war against France⁴⁶.

⁴⁵ Voltaire, chap. xi.

⁴⁶ Rouvigny to Louis XIV., Jan. 9, and Feb. 27, 1675, in Dalrymple's Appendix. The proofs that Charles was a pensioner of France do not rest solely upon these Letters. They are also to be found in King James's Memoirs and the Danby Papers. Bolingbroke seems to have been perfectly acquainted with them; and very justly observes, that Charles, by this meanness, whatever might be his motives for submitting to it, "established the superiority of

Thus secure of the neutrality of England, Louis made vigorous preparations for carrying on the war in Flanders, and was early in the field. He laid siege to Condé in April, and took it by storm. Bouchain soon after fell into his hands; the prince of Orange, who was ill supported by his allies, not daring to attempt its relief, on account of the advantageous position of the French army. After facing each other for some time, the two armies withdrew to a greater distance, as if by mutual consent. The king of France, with his usual avidity for praise, and want of perseverance, returned to Versailles; while the prince of Orange laid siege to Maastricht. Many desperate assaults were made, and several outworks taken; but all without effect. The place made a gallant defence; sickness broke out in the confederate army; and on the approach of the mareschal Schomberg, who had reduced Aire, the prince was obliged to abandon his enterprise⁴⁷. The taking of Philipsburg, by the imperialists, was the only success that attended the arms of the allies during the campaign.

France was no less successful by sea than by land. Louis had very early discovered an ambition of forming a powerful navy: and during the war between England and Holland, in which he was engaged, his subjects had acquired in perfection the art of ship-building, as well as the most approved method of conducting sea-engagements, by means of signals, said to have been invented by the duke of York. An accidental circumstance now afforded him an opportunity of displaying his naval strength, to the astonishment and terror of Europe.

Messina in Sicily had revolted from Spain; and a French fleet, under the duke de Vivonne, was sent to support the citizens in their rebellion. A Dutch and Spanish squadron sailed to oppose Vivonne; but, after an obstinate combat, Messina was relieved by the French. Another engagement ensued near Augusta, rendered famous by the death of the gallant de Ruyter, and in which the French had also the advantage. A third battle, more decisive than either of the former, was fought off Palermo. The combined fleet (to the number of twenty-seven ships of the line, nineteen galleys, and four fire-ships) was drawn up in a line without the mole, and under cover of the fortifications.

France in Europe." Unprincipled as the ministers of Charles were, it is with pleasure that we learn from Rouvigny's despatches, not one of them heartily concurred in this infamous treaty. "Hence," says he to his master, "your majesty will plainly see, that, in all England, only the king and the duke of York embrace your interests with affection!" (Feb. 27, 1676.) And, in another letter, he affirms, "I can answer for it to your majesty, that there are none of *your own subjects who wish you better success, in all your undertakings, than these two princes*; but it is also true that you cannot count upon any, except these two friends, in all England!" (Jan. 28, 1677.)

⁴⁷ Temple's Memoirs, part ii.

The disposition was good, and the appearance formidable; yet Vivonne, or rather du Quesne, who commanded under him, and was a great naval officer, did not hesitate to venture an attack with a squadron inferior in strength. The battle was sustained with great vigour on both sides; until the French, taking advantage of a favourable wind, sent some fire-ships among the enemy. All was now confusion and terror. Twelve capital ships were sunk, burned, or taken; four thousand men lost their lives; and the French, riding undisputed masters of the Mediterranean, endangered the total revolt of Naples and Sicily⁴⁸.

A congress had been opened at Nimeguen in the beginning of the year, but no progress, it was found, could be made in negotiation, till the war had taken a more decisive turn. The disappointment of the allies, in the events of the campaign, had now much damped their sanguine hopes; and the Hollanders, on whom the chief weight of the war lay, seeing no prospect of a general pacification, began to entertain thoughts of concluding a separate treaty with France. They were loaded with debts and harassed with taxes; their commerce languished; and exclusive of the disadvantages attending all leagues, the weakness of the Spaniards, and the divisions and delays of the Germans, prognosticated nothing but disgrace and ruin. They themselves had no motive for continuing the war, beside a desire of securing a good frontier to Flanders; yet gratitude to their allies inclined them to try whether another campaign might not produce a peace that would give general satisfaction. The prince of Orange, actuated by ambition and animosity against France, endeavoured to animate them to a steady perseverance in their honourable resolution.

In the mean time the eyes of all parties were turned toward England. Charles was universally allowed to be the arbiter of Europe; and terms of peace prescribed by him would not have been refused by any of the contending powers. The Spaniards believed that he would never suffer Flanders to be subdued by France; or that the parliament, if he could be so far lost to his own interests, would force him to take part with Feb. 15, 1677. the confederates⁴⁹. That body was at last assembled in order to appease the murmurs of the people, after a recess of above fourteen months. Disputes about their own rights engaged the peers for a time; and the commons proceeded with temper, in taking into consideration the state of the navy, which the king had recommended to their attention. Every thing seemed to promise a peaceable and easy session. But the rapid and unexpected progress of the French arms soon disturbed this

48 Le Clerc, vol. ii.—Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xii.

49 Temple's *Mem.* part ii.

tranquillity, and directed to other objects the deliberations of both houses.

Louis, having previously formed large magazines in Flanders, re-commenced hostilities before the usual time, and undertook the siege of Valenciennes. By the judicious advice of Vauban, who recommended an assault in the morning, when it would be least expected, the place was carried by surprise. March 17, N. S. Cambray surrendered after a short siege; and St. Omer was closely invested, when the prince of Orange, with an army hastily assembled, marched to its relief. The siege was covered by the dukes of Orleans and Luxemburg; and as the prince was determined to endeavour to raise it, a fierce engagement took place at Mont-Cassel: where, by a superior movement of Luxemburg, William was defeated, in spite of his most strenuous efforts, and obliged to retire to Ypres. His behaviour was gallant, and his retreat masterly; but St. Omer submitted to the arms of France⁵⁰.

Justly alarmed at such extraordinary success, the English parliament presented an address to the king representing the danger to which the kingdom was exposed from the greatness of France, and praying that he would form such alliances as should both secure his own dominions and the Spanish Netherlands, and thereby quiet the fears of his people. The king returned an evasive answer, and the commons thought it necessary to be more particular. They entreated him to interpose immediately in favour of the confederates; and, if war with France should be the consequence of such interference, they promised to support him with all necessary aid and supplies. Charles, in his answer, artfully expressed his desire of being *first* put in a *condition* to *accomplish* the *design* of their *address*. This was understood as a demand for money; but the commons were too well acquainted with the king's connexions with France, to hazard their money in expectation of alliances, which they believed would never be formed, if the supplies were granted beforehand. Instead of a supply, they therefore voted an address, in which "they besought his majesty to enter into a league *offensive* and *defensive*, with the states-general of the United Provinces, against the growth and power of the French king, and for the preservation of the Spanish Netherlands; and to make such other alliances with the confederates as should appear fit and useful for that end⁵¹. They supported their advice with arguments, and concluded with assuring the king, that when he

50 Temple's Mem. part ii. chap. ii.—In attempting to rally his dispersed troops, the prince struck one of the fugitives across the face with his sword. "Rascal!"—cried he, "I will set a mark on you at present, that I may hang you afterwards." Id. *ibid*.

51 Journals for 1677.

should be pleased to declare such an alliance in parliament, they would most cheerfully support his measures with plentiful and speedy supplies. Pretending resentment at this address, as an encroachment on his prerogative, Charles made an angry speech to the commons, and ordered the parliament to be adjourned.

Had the king, my dear Philip, been prompted to this measure (as an author, by no means prejudiced against him, justly observes) by a real jealousy of his prerogative, it might merit some applause, as an indication of vigour ; but when we are made acquainted with the motives that produced it, when we know that it proceeded from his secret engagements with France, and his disappointment in not obtaining a large sum which he might dissipate upon his pleasures, it furnishes a new instance of that want of sincerity which disgraced his character⁵². When he thus urged the commons to strengthen his hands for war, he had actually sold his neutrality to France, as I have already had occasion to notice : and had he obtained the supply required for that end, he would, no doubt, have found expedients to screen his conduct, without entering into war, or even breaking off his private correspondence with Louis. But to make a *close alliance* with the *confederates* the *condition* of a *supply*, he foresaw, would deprive him of the *secret subsidy*, and throw him upon the mercy of his commons, whose confidence he had deservedly lost, and whose spirit he was desirous of subduing. Considering *his views* and *engagements*, he acted with prudence ; but both were unworthy of a king of England.

While Charles, lolling, in the lap of pleasure, or wasting his time in thoughtless jollity, was thus ingloriously sacrificing the honour of his kingdom and the interests of Europe, in consideration of a contemptible pension from a prince to whom he might have given law, the eyes of his subjects were anxiously turned toward the political situation of the contending powers, and the events of the campaign. In Spain, domestic faction had been added to the other misfortunes of a kingdom long declining, through the weakness of her councils, and the general corruption of her people. Don John of Austria, natural son of Philip IV., had taken arms against the queen-regent, and advanced toward Madrid ; and although, disappointed in his expectations of support, he returned to Saragossa, fortune soon after favoured his ambition.

The young king, escaping from his mother, order her to be shut up in a convent at Toledo, and declared Don John prime minister. But the hopes entertained of his abilities were not answered by the event. The misfortunes of Spain increased on every side. In Catalonia, Monterey was defeated ; Bracamonte lost the battle of Taormina in Sicily : and Flanders was in a

manner laid open to absolute conquest. The prince of Orange, to atone for his late defeat, sat down before Charleroy; but on the appearance of the French army, under the duke of Luxemburg, he was forced to raise the siege. William, though he possessed considerable talents for war, was inferior to this experienced general; and seems always to have wanted that happy combination of genius and skill which is necessary to form the great commander.

On the Upper Rhine, Charles duke of Lorraine, who had succeeded his uncle rather in the title than in the territory of that duchy, commanded a body of the allies. The prince of Saxe-Eisenach, at the head of another army, endeavoured to enter Alsace. But Crequi, with an inferior force, defeated the views of the duke of Lorraine, though an able officer. He obliged him to retire from Mentz; he hindered him from crossing the Maes; he beat up his posts, he cut off his convoys; and having gained an advantage over the allies, near Cokersburg, he closed the campaign on that side with the taking of Freyburg. The baron de Montelar, who defended Alsace, was no less successful. After various movements, he inclosed the troops of the prince of Saxe-Eisenach within his own, and forced them to capitulate near Strasburg⁵³. The Swedish allies of the French were not inactive in this campaign; but they could not prevent the loss of the important fortress of Stetin.

During the rapid progress of the French arms in Flanders, serious negotiations had been carried on between Louis and the Dutch, and a treaty was concluded, depending on the concurrence of their respective allies. The misfortunes of the confederates, and the supine indifference of England, seemed to render peace necessary to them. But had they been sufficiently acquainted with the state of France, they would have had less reason to dread the continuance of the war. Though victorious in the field, she was nearly exhausted at home. The successes which had rendered her the terror of her neighbours, had already deprived her, for a time, of the power of hurting them. But the ignorance of mankind continued their fears: the apprehensions of Europe remained; and Louis derived more glory from his imaginary than from his real force.

These apprehensions were very great in England. In parliament they were made subservient to the purposes of ambition and faction, as well as of patriotism; and they awakened dangerous discontents among the people. Murmurs were heard from all ranks of men. Willing to put an end to dissatisfactions that disturbed his repose, Charles made a new attempt to gain the confidence of his people. His brother's bigoted at-

53 Pelisson, tome iii.—Voltaire, Siècle, chap. xii

tachment to popery, and his own unhappy connexions with France, he was sensible, had chiefly occasioned the loss of his popularity. To afford the prospect of a Protestant succession to the throne, and procure a general peace to Europe, could not fail, he thought of quieting the minds of his subjects. He accordingly encouraged proposals of marriage from the prince of Orange to his brother's eldest daughter, who was the presumptive heiress of the crown, the duke having then no male issue, and the king no legitimate offspring. By so attractive a match, he hoped to engage the prince entirely in his interests, and to sanctify with William's approbation such a peace as would satisfy France, and tend to perpetuate his own connexions with Louis.

William came over to England at the close of the campaign; and whatever might be his motives for such a conduct, he acted a part highly deserving of applause, whether we examine it by the rules of prudence or delicacy. He refused to enter upon business before he had been introduced to the lady Mary; declaring that, as he placed great part of his happiness in domestic satisfaction, no consideration of interest or policy could ever induce him to marry a person who was not highly agreeable to him. Mary, whom he found in the bloom of youth, and very amiable both in mind and person, seemed even to exceed his hopes; and he refused to concert any measures for the general peace, until his marriage should be concluded. His allies, who, as affairs were circumstanced, were likely to have hard terms, would otherwise, he said, be apt to suspect that he had made this match at their cost. "And I am determined," added he, "it shall never be said, that I sold my honour for a wife!" Charles who affected to smile at these punctilios, persisted in his resolution of making the peace precede the marriage; but Nov. 4. finding the prince inflexible, he at last consented to the nuptials, which were celebrated at the palace of St. James, to the inexpressible joy of the nation.

This matrimonial alliance gave great alarm to the king of France. A junction of England with the confederates, he concluded, would be the immediate consequence of so important a step, taken not only without his consent, but without his knowledge or participation. Charles, however, endeavoured to quiet his apprehensions, by promising to prorogue the parliament from December to April; a term late for granting supplies, or forming warlike preparations⁵⁴. In the mean time the king, the prince of Orange, the lord treasurer Danby, and sir William Temple, held consultations relative to a general peace; and the

⁵⁴ Temple's Mem. part ii. chap. iii.

⁵⁵ Dalrymple's Appeal.—He did not, however, adhere to this stipulation.

earl of Feversham was despatched to France with conditions sufficiently favourable to the allies, and yet not dishonourable to Louis.

Two days only were allowed to the French monarch for the acceptance or refusal of the peace, and the English ambassador had no power to negotiate. But he was prevailed on to stay some days longer, and returned at last without any positive answer. "My ambassador at London," said Louis, "shall have full powers to finish the treaty to the satisfaction of the king. And I hope my brother will not break with me for one or two towns." The French ambassador declared, that he had leave to yield all the towns required, except Tournay; and even to treat of some equivalent for that, if the king thought fit.—Charles was softened by the moderation of Louis. The prince of Orange, who had given vigour to the English counsels, was gone; and delay succeeded delay in the negotiations, until the French monarch, having taken the field early, made himself master of Ghent and Ypres, after having^{A.D. 1678.} threatened Mons and Namur⁵⁶.

These conquests filled the Dutch with terror, and the English with indignation. But Louis managed matters so artfully, that neither of the nations proved a bar in the way of his ambition. Through his intrigues with the remains of the Louvestein party in Holland, he increased the general desire of peace, by awakening a jealousy of the designs of the prince of Orange on account of his eagerness for continuing the war. In England, he not only maintained his connexions with Charles, but gained to his interest some of the popular members in both houses of parliament, who were less afraid of the conquest of Flanders than of trusting the king with an army to defend it.—So great, however, was the ardour of the people of England for war, that both the king and parliament were obliged to give way to it. An army of twenty thousand men, to the astonishment of Europe, was completed in a few weeks; and part of it was sent over, under the duke of Monmouth, to secure Ostend. Meanwhile Charles, in consideration of the sum of three hundred thousand pounds, secretly engaged to disband his army, and to permit Louis to make his own terms with the confederates; and the commons also, swayed by French influence, but ignorant of the king's engagements, voted for the same dismissal⁵⁷. Baseness so complicated, in men of the most exalted stations, makes us almost hate human nature; and the generous mind, in contemplating such a motley group, without regard to

56 Temple's Mem. part ii. chap. iii.—Voltaire. Siècle, chap. xii.

57 Temple's Mem. part ii. chap. iii.—Dalrymple's Appendix.

imposing names, beholds with equal indignation the pensioned king and the hireling patriot⁵⁸.

Having nothing now to dread from the only two powers that could set bounds to his empire, Louis assumed the style of a conqueror: and, instead of yielding to the terms offered by Charles, he himself dictated the articles of a peace, which, by placing the barrier towns of Flanders in his hands, left that country open to his future inroads. This imperious proceeding, and other aggravating circumstances, occasioned great murmurs in England, and the king seemed at length disposed to enter heartily into the war. But the confederates had been too often deceived, to trust any longer to the fluctuating counsels of Charles. Negotiations for a general peace advanced toward a conclusion at Nimeguen; and as the emperor and Spain, though least able to continue the war, seemed resolved to stand out, Van Beverning, the Dutch ambassador, more prudently than honourably signed a separate treaty with France⁵⁹. This agreement, which occasioned much clamour among the confederates, was ratified by the states; and the other powers were at last obliged to accept the terms prescribed by the French monarch.

The principal of these terms were, that Louis, beside Franche Comté, which he had twice conquered, should retain Cambray, Aire, St. Omer, Valenciennes, Tournay, Ypres, Bouchain, Cassel, Charlemont, and other places; that he should restore Maestricht to the states; that the Spaniards should again be masters of Charleroy, Oudenarde, Aeth, Ghent, and Limbourg; that the emperor should give up Freyburg to France, and keep possession of Philipsburg; that the elector of Brandenburg should restore to Sweden his conquests in Pomerania, and that the treaty of Westphalia should remain in full force over Germany and the North⁶⁰. The duke of Lorrain was the only prince who refused to be included in the peace of Nimeguen; he chose rather to act as a soldier of fortune, and to command the imperial armies, than to accept his dominions on the conditions proposed by Louis.

58 That some of the popular members in each house received money from the court of France, is a truth too notorious to be denied, though painful to relate. And to say that they only supported those measures which they believed to be for the good of their country, is but a poor apology for their venality. A senator who can be prevailed on to accept a bribe, it is to be feared, will readily persuade himself of the rectitude of any measure for the support of which that bribe is offered. Of this lord Russel seems to have been fully convinced; for, although willing to co-operate with France, in order to prevent Charles from becoming absolute (as soon as he was informed that Louis began to discover that such a change in the English government would be against his interest,) he was startled when told by Barillon, that he had "a considerable sum to distribute in parliament to obstruct the vote of supply."—"I should be sorry," said he, "to have any communication with men who can be gained by money." Dalrymple's Append.

59 Temple's Mein. part ii. chap. iii.

60 Renault.—Voltaire, Sicele, chap. xii.

The prince of Orange was so much enraged at this peace, that he took a very unwarrantable step to break it. He attacked the quarters of the duke of Luxemburg at St. Denis near Mons, after the treaty was signed, and when the duke reposed on the faith of it, in hopes of cutting off the whole French army⁶¹. But he gained no decided advantage; and this bold violation of the laws of humanity, if not of those of nations, was attended with no other consequence than the loss of many lives on both sides.

The king of England also disgusted with Louis, and ashamed of having been so long the tool of a monarch to whose ambition he might have given law, endeavoured to persuade the states to decline a ratification of the peace. But the Dutch had made too good terms for themselves to think of immediately renewing the war; and Charles, though the stipulated bribe for his ignominious neutrality was denied to him, soon returned to his former connexions with France⁶².

Thus, my dear Philip, was Louis exalted above every other European potentate. He had greatly extended his dominions in defiance of a powerful confederacy, and had secured very important conquests by treaty. His ministers, in negotiating, had appeared as much superior to those of other nations, as his generals in the field. He had given law to Spain, Holland, and the empire: his arms had humbled his most formidable neighbours, and his ambition threatened the independence of all. Before I trace the farther progress of that ambition, it will be proper to carry forward the domestic history of Great Britain.

61 Voltaire, *ubi sup.*—Burnet, book iii.

62 Dalrymple's *Append.*

LETTER XIV.

History of England, from the Popish Plot, in 1678, to the Death of Charles II., with a Retrospective View of the Affairs of Scotland.

NOTWITHSTANDING the seeming eagerness of Charles II. for war, toward the conclusion of the peace of Nimeguen, he was never believed to be sincere. So utterly had he lost the confidence of his people, that his best measures were supposed to proceed from bad motives: the more popular any measure appeared the more it was suspected of some dangerous purpose. A general dread of popery and arbitrary power prevailed; dark surmises were propagated; and the king and the duke of York, in conjunction with France, were justly considered as the great enemies of the civil and religious liberties of the nation.

These apprehensions, inflamed by the violence of faction, and turned upon a particular object by the forgeries of artful men, gave birth to the famous imposture called the **POPISH PLOT**; the most extraordinary instance of phrensy and delusion that ever distracted an unhappy people. As that mysterious business had some connexion with the affairs of Scotland, I will now treat of the miserable state of that realm.

Soon after the suppression of the insurrection, in 1666, and the severe punishment of the fanatical insurgents, the king was
 A. D. 1667. advised to try milder methods for bringing the people over to episcopacy. With this view, he entrusted the government to the earl of Tweeddale and sir Robert Murray, men of prudence and moderation. In order to compose the religious differences, which still ran high, these ministers adopted a scheme of *comprehension*; by which it was proposed
 A. D. 1668. to diminish the authority of the bishops, to abolish their negative voice in the ecclesiastical courts, and to leave them little more than the right of precedency among the presbyters¹. But this scheme alarmed the jealousy of the zealous teachers of those times. They chose rather to deliver their wild harangues, at the hazard of their lives, to conventicles in woods and mountains, than have any communication with antichristian institutions, which they esteemed dangerous and criminal. “Touch not! taste not! handle not!” was their common cry; and the king’s ministers, perceiving that advances to such men could only serve to debase the dignity of govern-

¹ Burnet, vol. i

ment, by being contemptuously rejected, gave up the project of *comprehension*, and adopted that of *indulgence*.

In the prosecution of this new scheme, they proceeded with great temper and judgment. Some of the most enlightened of the presbyterian teachers were settled A. D. 1669. in vacant churches, without being obliged to conform to the established religion; and salaries of twenty pounds a year were offered to the rest, till they should be otherwise provided for, on condition that they behaved themselves with decency and moderation. This offer was rejected, as the king's bribe for silence; and those teachers who were settled in the vacant churches soon found their popularity decline, when they delivered only the simple doctrines of Christianity. By ceasing to rail against the church and state, called *preaching to the times*, they obtained the appellation of *dumb dogs*, who were supposed to be afraid to bark. The churches were again deserted, for the more vehement and inflammatory discourses of the field: preachers and conventicles multiplied daily in the West; where the people, as formerly, came armed to their places of worship.

When this fanaticism was at its height, Lauderdale was appointed high commissioner to the Scottish parliament. The zealous presbyterians, the chief assertors of liberty, were unable to oppose the measures of the court; so that the tide ran strongly toward monarchy, if not despotism. By one act it was declared, that the right of governing the church was inherent in the king; and, by another, the number of the militia (established by the undue influence of the crown about two years before) was settled at twenty-two thousand men; who were to be constantly armed, regularly disciplined, and ready to march to any part of his majesty's dominions, where their service might be required, for the support of his authority, power or greatness². Thus was Charles invested with absolute sway in Scotland, and even furnished with the means of becoming formidable to his English subjects, whose liberties he wished to subdue.

§ A severe act against conventicles followed these arbitrary laws, on which Lauderdale highly valued himself, A. D. 1670. and which induced the king to make him sole minister for Scotland. Ruinous fines were imposed on the presbyterians, who met to worship in houses; and field-preachers and their hearers were to be punished with death. But laws that are too severe defeat their own end. The rigorous exercised against conventicles in Scotland, instead of breaking the spirit of the fanatics, served only to render them more obstinate; to increase the fervour of their zeal, to bind them more closely together, and to inflame them against the established religion. The

commonalty of the Low-lands, particularly in the western counties, frequented conventicles without reserve; and although the gentry seldom visited those illegal places of worship, they took no measures to repress that irregularity in their inferiors, whose liberty they seemed to envy. In order to prevent this con-

vance, a bond or contract was tendered to the landlords in the West, by which they were to engage for the good behaviour of their tenants; and, if any tenant should frequent a conventicle, the landlord was to subject himself to the same fine that could by law be exacted from the offender³.

But it was ridiculous to give sanction to laws by voluntary contracts; it was iniquitous to make one man answerable for the conduct of another; and it was illegal to impose such hard conditions upon men who had no way offended⁴. For these reasons the greater part of the gentry refused to sign the bonds required; and Lauderdale, enraged at such firmness, endeavoured to break their spirit by an expedient truly tyrannical. Because the western counties abounded in conventicles, though otherwise in a state of profound peace, he pretended that they were in a state of actual rebellion. He therefore made an agreement with some Highland chiefs to call out their followers, to the number of eight thousand; who, in conjunction with the guards, and the militia of Angus, were sent to live at free quarters upon the lands of such gentlemen as had rejected the bonds.

As the western counties were the most populous and the most industrious in Scotland, and the Highlanders the men least civilised, it is more easy to imagine than to describe the havoc that ensued. Troops of barbarians, trained up in rapine and violence, unaccustomed to discipline, and averse from the restraints of law, were let loose among a set of people, whom they were taught to regard as the enemies of their prince and their religion. Nothing escaped their ravenous hands: no distinction of age, sex, or innocence, afforded protection. And lest the cry of an oppressed people should reach the throne, the council forbade, under severe penalties, all noblemen and gentlemen of landed property to leave the kingdom⁵.

Notwithstanding this arbitrary edict, the duke of Hamilton, with ten other noblemen, and about fifty gentlemen of distinction, went to London, and laid their complaints before the king. Charles seemed to be shocked at their narrative; but he took no effectual means to remedy the grievances of which they complained. "According to your representation," said he, "Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things in the government of Scotland; but I cannot find that he has, in any thing, acted

³ Burnet, vol. ii.

⁴ Hume, vol. viii.

⁵ Burnet, vol. ii.

contrary to my interest." What must the interests of a king be, when they are unconnected with the welfare of his people!

Meanwhile Lauderdale ordered home the Highlanders; and taking advantage of the absence of the dissatisfied noblemen and gentlemen, he summoned a convention of estates at Edinburgh. And this assembly, to the eternal disgrace of the nation, sent up an address to the king, approving Lauderdale's government. But as the means by which that address was procured were well known, it served only to render both the king and his minister more odious in Scotland, and to spread general alarm in England: where it was justly concluded, that as, in the neighbouring kingdom, the very voice of liberty was suppressed, and grievances were so riveted, that it was dangerous even to mention them, every thing was to be feared from the arbitrary disposition of Charles. If, by a Protestant church, persecution could be carried to such extremes, what, it was asked, might not be dreaded from the violence of popery, with which the kingdom was threatened?—and what from the full establishment of absolute power, if its approaches were so tyrannical?—Such were the reasonings of men, and such their apprehensions in England, when the rumour of a popish plot threw the whole nation into a panic.

The chief actor in this horrid imposture, which occasioned the loss of much innocent blood, was an indigent adventurer, named Titus Oates, one of the most profligate of mankind. Being bred to the church, he obtained a small living, which he was obliged to abandon on account of a prosecution for perjury. He was afterward chaplain to a man of war, but was dismissed for an unnatural crime⁶. In his necessity, he came to London, the former scene of his debaucheries, where he became acquainted with Dr. Tonge, a city divine, who for some time fed and clothed him. Tonge was a man of a credulous temper, and of an intriguing disposition. To spread scandal was his chief amusement, and to propagate the rumour of plots his highest delight. By his advice, Oates agreed to reconcile himself to the Romish communion, in order to discover the designs of the Catholics connected with the English court; to go beyond sea, and to enter into the society of the Jesuits. He now visited different parts of France and Spain, and resided some time in a seminary of Jesuits at St. Omers; but was at last dismissed on account of bad behaviour, by that politic body, who never seem to have trusted him with any of their secrets⁷.

Oates, setting his wicked imagination to work to supply the want of materials, returned to England burning with resentment

⁶ Burnet, vol. ii.

⁷ Burnet, *ubi sup.*—See also Danby's Mem. Echard, Kennet, and James II

against the Jesuits, and with a full resolution of framing the story of a popish plot. This he accomplished in conjunction with his patron Tonge; and one Kirby, a chemist, was employed to communicate the intelligence to the king. Charles desired to see the divine, who delivered into his hands a narrative, consisting of forty-three articles, of a conspiracy to murder his majesty, subvert the government, and re-establish the Catholic faith in England. The king, having hastily glanced over the paper, ordered him to carry it to the lord-treasurer Danby, who treated the information more seriously than it seemed to deserve. Yet the plot, after all, might have sunk into oblivion, on account of the king's disregard to a tale accompanied with such improbable circumstances, had it not been for an artful contrivance of the impostors, that gave to the whole a degree of importance of which it was unworthy.

Tonge, who was continually plying the king with fresh information, acquainted the lord-treasurer by letter, that a packet concerning the plot, written by Jesuits, and directed to Bedingfield, confessor to the duke of York, would soon be delivered. Danby, who was then in Oxfordshire, hastened to court; but, before his arrival, Bedingfield had carried the letters to the duke, protesting that he did not know what they meant, and that they were not the hand-writing of the persons whose names they bore. The duke carried them to the king; who was confirmed, by this incident, in his suspicion of an imposture, and was inclined to treat it with contempt. But the duke, anxious to clear his confessor and the followers of his religion from such a horrid accusation, insisted on a full inquiry into the pretended conspiracy before the council. Kirby, Tonge, and Oates, were brought before that assembly; and although the narrative of Titus was improbable, confused, and contradictory, the plot made a great noise, and obtained such general credit, that it was considered as a crime to disbelieve it.

The evidence of Oates imported, that he had been privy, both at home and abroad, to many consultations among the Jesuits for the assassination of Charles, who, they said, had deceived them; that Grove and Pickering, the one an ordained Jesuit, the other a lay brother, were at first appointed to shoot the king, but that it was afterward resolved to take him off by poison, by bribing sir George Wakeman, the queen's physician, and a papist; that many Jesuits had gone into Scotland, in disguise, to distract the government of that kingdom, by preaching sedition in the field conventicles; that he himself had assisted at a consultation of Jesuits in London, where it was resolved to despatch the king by the dagger, by shooting, or by poison; and that, when he was busy in collecting evidence for a full discovery, he

was suspected, and obliged to separate himself from them, in order to save his own life⁸.

The letters sent to Bedingfield were produced in support of this evidence; and although they bore as evident marks of forgery as the narrative of imposture, the council issued orders for seizing such accused persons as were then in London. Sir George Wakeman was accordingly apprehended, with Coleman, late secretary to the duchess of York, Langhorne, an eminent barrister, and eight Jesuits. These steps of the council still farther alarmed the nation: the metropolis was a scene of clamour; and apprehension and terror every where prevailing, the most absurd fictions were received as certain facts⁹.

But this ferment would probably have subsided, and time might have opened the eyes of the public so as to discern the imposture, if some collateral circumstances had not put the reality of a popish plot beyond dispute, in the opinion of the generality of the people. An order had been given, by the lord-treasurer, to seize Coleman's papers. Among these were found some copies of letters to father la Chaise, the French king's confessor, to the pope's nuncio at Brussels, and to other Catholics abroad; and as Coleman was a weak man, and a wild enthusiast in the Romish faith, he had insinuated many extraordinary things to his correspondents, in a mysterious language, concerning the conversion of the three British kingdoms, and the total ruin of the Protestant religion, which he termed pestilent heresy. He founded his hopes on the zeal of the duke of York, and spoke in obscure terms of aid from abroad, for the accomplishment of what he denominated a *glorious work*¹⁰.

These indefinite expressions, in the present state of men's minds, were believed to point distinctly at all the crimes mentioned in the narrative of Oates; and as Coleman's letters for the last two years, which were supposed to contain the development of the whole plot, had been conveyed out of the way before the others were seized, full play was left for imagination. Another incident completed the general delusion, and rendered the prejudices of the nation incurable. This was the murder of sir Edmundbury Godfrey, an active justice of the peace, who had taken the deposition of Oates relative to his first narrative. He was found dead in a ditch near Primrose Hill, with his sword thrust through his body, his money in his pocket, and the rings on his fingers. From these last circumstances it was inferred, that his death had not been the act of robbers: it was therefore ascribed to the resentment of the Catholics; though it

⁸ Burnet, &c. ubi sub.—See also Oates' Narrative.

¹⁰ Coleman's Letters.

⁹ Id. ibid.

appears, that he had always lived on a good footing with that sect, and was even intimate with Coleman at the time that he took the evidence of Oates¹¹.

All possible advantage, however, was taken of this incident, in order to inflame the popular phrensy. The dead body of Godfrey was exposed to view for two days: the people flocked around it; and every one was roused to a degree of rage approaching madness, as well by the mutual contagion of sentiments, as by the moving spectacle. His funeral was celebrated with great pomp and parade: the corpse was conducted through the chief streets of the city; seventy two clergymen walked before, and above a thousand persons of distinction concluded the procession¹².

To deny the reality of the plot, was now to be reputed an accomplice; to hesitate, was criminal. All parties concurred in the delusion, except the unfortunate Catholics; who, though conscious of their own innocence, began to be afraid of a massacre similar to that of which they were accused. But their terror did not diminish that of others. Invasions from abroad, insurrections at home, conflagrations, and even poisonings were apprehended. Men looked with wild anxiety at each other, as if every interview had been the last. The business of life seemed to be at a stand; panic and confusion spread from the capital over the whole kingdom; and reason, to use the words of a philosophical historian, could no more be heard, in the present agitation of the human mind, than a whisper in the midst of the most violent hurricane.

* During this national ferment the parliament assembled; and the earl of Danby, who hated the Catholics, who courted popularity, and perhaps hoped that the king would be more cordially beloved by the nation if his life was supposed to be in danger from the Jesuits, opened the story of the plot in the house of peers. Charles, who wished to keep the whole matter from the parliament, was extremely displeased with this temerity, and said to his minister, "You will find, though you do not believe it, that you have given the parliament a handle to ruin yourself, as well as to disturb all my affairs: and you will certainly live to repent it!" Danby had afterward sufficient reason to revere the sagacity of his master.

The cry of the plot was immediately echoed from the upper to the lower house. The authority of parliament gave sanction to that fury with which the people were already animated. The commons voted an address for a solemn fast, and a form of prayer was framed for that occasion. Oates was brought before them; and finding that even the semblance of truth was no longer ne-

11 Burnet, vol. ii.

12 North's Examen, p. 204.

cessary to gain credit to his fictions, he made a bolder publication of his narrative at the bar of the house, adding some new and extraordinary circumstances. The most remarkable of these were, that the pope, having resumed the sovereignty of England on account of the heresy of prince and people, had thought proper to delegate the supreme power to the society of Jesuits; and that d'Oliva, general of that order, in consequence of the papal grant, had supplied the principal officers, both civil and military, with Catholic noblemen and gentlemen, many of whom he named. On this ridiculous evidence, the earl of Powis, the lords Stafford, Arundel, Petre, and Bellasis, were committed to the Tower, and soon after impeached for high treason; and both houses voted, without one dissenting voice, "that there had been, and still was, a *damnable* and *hellish plot*, contrived and carried on by papists, for murdering the king, subverting the government, and destroying the Protestant religion¹³."

Encouraged by this declaration, new informers appeared. Coleman and other Catholics were brought to trial, whose only guilt appeared to be that of their religion. But they were already condemned by the voice of the nation. The witnesses in their favour were in danger of being torn in pieces: and the jury, and even the judges, discovered strong symptoms of prejudice against them. Little justice could be expected from such a tribunal. The unhappy men died with firmness, and protested their innocence to the last¹⁴; yet these solemn testimonies, after all hopes of life had failed, could not awaken compassion for their fate. They were executed amid the shouts of the deluded populace, who seemed to enjoy their sufferings.

From the supposed conspirators in the popish plot, the parliament turned its views to higher objects. A bill was introduced for a new Test, in which *poper*y was denominated *idolatry*; and all the members who refused this test, were to be excluded from both houses. The bill passed the lower house, without opposition, and was sent to the other assembly. The duke of York requested the peers to admit an exception in his favour; and with great earnestness, and even with tears in his eyes, he said, he was now to throw himself on their kindness, in the greatest concern he could have in this world. He dwelt on his duty to the king, and his zeal for the prosperity of the nation; and he protested, that, whatever his religion might be, it should be only a *private thing* between God and his own soul, and never should influence his public conduct. This exception being agreed to, the bill was returned to the commons; and, contrary to all expectation, the amendment was carried by a majority of two votes¹⁵.

13 Journals, October 31, 1678.
15 Journals, Nov. 22, 1678.

14 Burnet, vol. ii.

The rage against popery, however, continued; and was in nothing more remarkable than in the encouragement given by the parliament to informers. Oates, who was unquestionably an infamous scoundrel, was recommended by the two houses to the king. He was rewarded with a pension of twelve hundred pounds a year; guards were appointed for his protection; men of the first rank courted his company; and he was called the saviour of the nation. The employment of an informer became honourable; and, beside those wretches who appeared in support of the evidence of the profligate Titus, a man high in office assumed that character.

Montague, the English ambassador at the court of France, disappointed in his expectation of being made secretary of state, returned without leave, and took his seat in the lower house. He had been deeply concerned in the pecuniary negotiations between Charles and Louis. On the late disagreement of these two princes, he had been gained by the latter; and now, on the failure of his hopes of preferment from the court of England, he engaged, for one hundred thousand crowns, to disgrace the king, and to ruin his minister, who was become peculiarly obnoxious to France¹⁶. Danby, having some intimation of this intrigue, ordered Montague's papers to be seized; but that experienced politician, prepared against the possibility of such a circumstance, had delivered into sure hands the papers that could most effectually serve his purpose. The violence of the minister afforded a kind of excuse for the perfidy of the ambassador. Two of Danby's letters were produced before the house of commons. One of these contained instructions to demand three hundred thousand pounds a year, for three years, from the French monarch, provided his terms should be accepted at Nimeguen in consequence of Charles's good offices; and, as Danby had foreseen the danger of this negotiation, the king, in order to remove his fears, had subjoined with his own hand, that the letter was written by his express orders¹⁷.

The circumstance rather inflamed than allayed the resentment of the commons, who naturally concluded, that the king had all along acted in concert with the French court, and that every step which he had taken, in conjunction with the allies, had been illusory and deceitful. It was immediately moved, that there was sufficient matter of impeachment against the lord treasurer; and the question was carried by a considerable majority. Danby's friends were abashed, and his enemies were elated beyond measure with their triumph. The king himself was alarmed: his secret negotiations with France, before only

¹⁶ Dalrymple's Append. p. 193.

¹⁷ Journals, Dec. 14, 1678.—See also Danby's Papers.

suspected, were now ascertained. Many who wished to support the crown were ashamed of the meanness of the prince, and deserted their principles in order to save their reputation.

As Danby, upon the whole, had been a cautious minister, most of the charges adduced against him were either frivolous or ill-founded. When the impeachment was read in the house of peers, he rose and spoke to every article. He showed that Montague had himself promoted with ardour the money negotiations with Louis. He cleared himself from the aspersion of alienating the king's revenue to improper purposes; and he insisted particularly on his known disinclination to the interests of France; declaring, that, whatever compliances he might have made, he had always esteemed a connexion with the sovereign of that realm pernicious to his master and destructive to his country¹⁸. The lords immediately discussed the question; and the majority were against the commitment of Danby. The commons, however, insisted that he should be sequestered from parliament and committed. A violent contest was likely to ensue; and the king, who thought himself bound to support his minister, and saw no hopes of ending the dispute by gentle means, first prorogued, and afterward Jan. 25, 1679. dissolved the parliament.

This was a desperate remedy in the present critical state of the nation, and it did not answer the end proposed. It afforded but a temporary relief, if it may not be said to have increased the disease. The new parliament, which the king was under the necessity of assembling, consisted chiefly of the most violent of the former members, reinforced by others of the same principles. The court had exerted its influence in vain: the elections were made with all the prejudices of the times. The king's connexions with France had alienated the affections of his subjects; but the avowed popery of the duke of York was a still more dangerous subject of jealousy and discontent. Sensible that this was the fatal source of the greater part of the misfortunes of his reign, and foreseeing the troubles that were likely to be occasioned by the violent spirit of the new representatives, Charles conjured his brother to conform to the established church. He even sent the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of Winchester to persuade him, if possible, to become again a Protestant: and, finding all their arguments lost on his obstinacy, he desired him to withdraw beyond sea, in order to appease the people, and to satisfy the parliament that popish counsels no longer prevailed at court. This proposal the duke also declined, as he apprehended that his retiring would be construed into an acknowledgment of guilt; but when

¹⁸ Journals of the Lords, Dec. 25, 1678.

the king insisted on his departure, as a step necessary for the welfare of both, he obeyed, after engaging Charles to make a public declaration of the illegitimacy of the duke of Monmouth¹⁹.

James duke of Monmouth, natural son of Charles II. by Lucy Walters, possessed all the qualities that can engage the affections of the populace, with some of those which conciliate the favour of the more discerning part of mankind. To a gracefulness of person, which commanded respect, he joined the most winning affability : by nature tender, he was an enemy to cruelty : he was constant in his friendship, and just to his word. Active and vigorous in his constitution, he excelled in the manly exercises of the field. He was personally brave, and loved the pomp, and the very dangers of war ; but he was vain even to a degree of folly, versatile in his measures, and weak in his understanding. This weakness rendered him a fit tool for the earl of Shaftesbury, the most able and unprincipled man of the age, and who had lately distinguished himself as much by his opposition to the court as formerly by the violence of his counsels in its favour. This bold politician had flattered Monmouth with the hopes of succeeding to the crown. A story had even been propagated of his legitimacy, in consequence of a secret contract of marriage between the king and his mother. This story was greedily received by the multitude : and on the removal of the duke of York from the kingdom, and the prospect of his being excluded from the succession by the jealousy of parliament, it was hoped that Monmouth would be declared prince of Wales. But Charles made a solemn declaration before the privy council, that he was never married to any woman but the queen ; and on finding that Monmouth continued to encourage the belief of the lawfulness of his birth, the king renewed his protestation, and made it particular against Lucy Walters²⁰.

The subsequent events of this reign, my dear Philip, furnished abundant matter for the memorialist ; but, the struggle between the king and parliament excepted, they have little relation to the line of general history. I shall, therefore, pass them over slightly, offering only the most important to your notice. One could wish that the greater part of them were erased from the English annals.

The new parliament, no way mollified by the dismissal of the duke of York, discovered all the violence that had been feared by the court. The commons revived the prosecution of the earl of Danby : they reminded the lords of his impeachment ;

¹⁹ Burnet, vol. ii.—Memoirs of James II.

²⁰ Kennet's Hist. of the Life and Reign of Charles II.

and they demanded justice, in the name of the people of England. Charles, determined to save his minister, had already had the precaution to grant him a pardon. This he now avowed in the house of peers; declaring that he could not think Danby in any respect criminal, as he had acted in every thing by his orders. The lower house, paying no regard to this confession, immediately voted, that no pardon of the crown could be pleaded in bar of an impeachment by the commons of England²¹. The lords seemed at first to adhere to the pardon, but yielded at last to the violence of the commons; and Danby, after absconding for a time, surrendered his person, and was committed to the Tower.

Charles, to soothe the commons, made a show of changing his measures. Some of the leaders of opposition were admitted into the privy council; particularly sir Henry Capel, lord Russel, the earl of Shaftesbury, and the viscounts Halifax and Fauconberg. The earl of Essex, a popular nobleman, was placed at the head of the treasury, in the room of the earl of Danby; and the earl of Sunderland, a man well qualified for such an office, was made secretary of state.

By thus placing the most violent patriots, either real or pretended, in his service, the king hoped to regain the affections of his parliament. But he was miserably disappointed. The commons received his declaration of a new council with the greatest indifference and coldness, believing the whole to be a trick in order to obtain money, or an artifice to induce the country party to drop the pursuit of grievances, by disarming with offices the violence of their leaders. They therefore continued their deliberations with unabated zeal; and declared by an unanimous vote, that the popish principles of the duke of York, and the hopes of his coming to the crown with such a creed, had given the greatest countenance and encouragement to the plots against the king and the Protestant religion²².

This being considered as an introductory step to the exclusion of the duke from the throne, Charles, in order to prevent such a bold measure, stated certain limitations, which, without altering the succession to the crown, he thought sufficient to secure the civil and religious liberties of the subject. These restrictions tended to deprive a popish successor of the right of bestowing ecclesiastical promotions, and of either appointing or displacing

²¹ The prerogative of mercy had been hitherto understood to be altogether unlimited in the crown; so that this pretension of the commons was perfectly new. It was not, however, unsuitable to the genius of a monarchy strictly limited; where the king's ministers are supposed to be accountable to the national assembly, even for such abuses of power as they may commit by orders from their master.

²² Journals, April 27, 1679.

privy counsellors or judges, without the consent of parliament. The same precaution was extended to the military part of the government, to the lord-lieutenants and deputy-lieutenants of counties, and to all officers of the navy²³.

These concessions, which greatly diminished the power of the crown, were rejected with contempt by the commons. They brought in a bill for the total exclusion of the duke of York, and they continued their prosecution against Danby. They voted that the pardon which he claimed was illegal and void; and, after some conferences with the lords on the subject, a day was fixed for his trial. Preparations were also made for the trial of the imprisoned popish lords.

In the mean time a furious dispute arose between the two houses, occasioned by a resolution of the commons, that the spiritual lords ought not to vote in any of the proceedings against the lords in the Tower²⁴. This resolution involved a question of no small importance, and was of peculiar consequence in the present case. Though the bishops were anciently prohibited by the canon law, and afterward by established custom, from assisting at capital trials, they generally sat and voted in motions preparatory to such trials. The validity of Danby's pardon was first to be debated; and although but a preliminary, was the hinge on which the whole must turn. The commons, therefore, insisted upon excluding the prelates, whom they knew to be devoted to the court: the peers were unwilling to make any alteration in the forms of their judicature: both houses adhered to their respective pretensions; and Charles took advantage of the quarrel, first to prorogue, and then to dissolve the parliament; setting aside, by that measure, the trial of his minister, and, for a time, the bill of exclusion against his brother²⁵.

Although this parliament, my dear Philip, degraded itself by violence and credulity, and though some of its members seem to have been actuated by a spirit of party and a strong antipathy to the royal family, while others were influenced by the money of France or the intrigues of the prince of Orange, the greater number were animated by a real spirit of patriotism, by an honest zeal for their civil and religious liberties. Of this the exclusion bill and the *Habeas Corpus* act are sufficient proofs. The latter, which particularly distinguishes the English constitution, can never be too much applauded.

²³ Journ. May. 10.

²⁴ Journals, May 17.

²⁵ Danby and the popish lords, Stafford excepted, whose fate I shall have occasion to relate, after remaining in the Tower till 1684, were admitted to bail on petition.

The personal liberty of individuals is a property of human nature, which nothing but the certainty of a crime committed ought ever to abridge or restrain. The English nation had, accordingly, very early and repeatedly secured by public acts this valuable part of their rights as men ; yet something was still requisite to render personal freedom complete, and prevent evasion or delay from ministers and judges. The act of *Habeas Corpus* answered all these purposes, and does equal honour to the patriotism and the penetration of those who framed it and carried it into a law. This act prohibits the sending of any English subject to a prison beyond sea ; and it provides, that no judge shall refuse to any prisoner a writ, by which the jailor is directed to produce in court the body of such prisoner, and to certify the cause of his commitment and detention.

The general rage against popery, and the success of the country party in the English parliament, raised the spirit of the Scottish covenanters, and gave new life to their hopes. Their conventicles, to which they went armed, became more frequent and numerous ; and though they never acted offensively, they frequently repelled the troops sent to disperse them. But even this small degree of moderation could not long be preserved by a set of wild enthusiasts, who thought every thing lawful for the support of their godly cause ; who were driven to madness by the oppressions of a tyrannical government, and flattered, by their friends in England, with the prospect of relief from their troubles. A barbarous violence increased the load of their calamities.

Sharpe, archbishop of St. Andrews, was deservedly obnoxious to the covenanters. Having been deputed by the Scottish clergy at the Restoration, to manage their interests with the king, he had betrayed them. He soon after openly abandoned the presbyterian party ; and when episcopacy was established in Scotland, his apostacy was rewarded with the dignity of primate. To him was chiefly entrusted the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs ; and, in order to recommend himself to the court, he persecuted the covenanters, or non-conformists, with unrelenting rigour. It was impossible for human beings to suffer so many injuries without being stimulated against their author by the keenest emotions of indignation and revenge. A band of desperate fanatics, farther influenced by the hope of doing an acceptable service to Heaven, way-laid the archbishop in the neighbourhood of St. Andrews ; and, after firing into his coach, dispatched him with many wounds²⁶.

This atrocious action furnished the ministry with a pretext

for a more severe persecution of the covenanters, on whom, without distinction, they threw the guilt of the murder of Sharpe. The troops quartered in the western counties received orders to disperse, by force, all conventiclors, wherever they should be found. This severity obliged the covenanters to assemble in large bodies; and their success in repelling the king's forces emboldened them to set forth a declaration against episcopacy, and publicly to burn the acts of parliament which had ordained that mode of ecclesiastical government in Scotland. They took possession of Glasgow, and formed a kind of preaching camp in the neighbourhood; whence they issued proclamations, declaring that they fought against the king's supremacy in religious matters, against popery, prelacy, and a popish successor²⁷.

Charles, alarmed at this insurrection, despatched the duke of Monmouth, with a body of English cavalry, to join the royal army in Scotland, and subdue the fanatics. Monmouth met the covenanters at Bothwell bridge, between Glasgow and Hamilton, where a rout rather than a battle ensued, and the insurgents were totally dispersed. About six hundred of these persecuted and misguided men fell in the pursuit, and twelve hundred were made prisoners. But, the execution of two clergymen excepted, this was all the blood that was shed. Monmouth used his victory with great moderation. Such prisoners as would promise to live peaceably in future, were dismissed.

That lenity, however, unfortunately awakened the jealousy of the court. Monmouth was recalled and disgraced; and the duke of York, who had found a pretence to return to England, was entrusted with the government of Scotland. Under his administration, the covenanters were exposed to a cruel persecution; and such punishments were inflicted upon them, even on frivolous pretences, as make humanity shudder, and would disgrace the character of any prince less marked with severities than that of James. He is said to have been frequently present at the torturing of the unhappy criminals, and to have viewed their sufferings with as much unfeeling attention, as if he had been contemplating some curious experiment²⁸.

While these things were passing in Scotland, a new parliament assembled in England, where the spirit of
A. D. 1680. party raged with unabated fury. Instead of *Petitioners* and *Abhorrrers* (or those who applied for redress of grievances, and such as opposed their petitions,) into which the nation had been for some time divided, the court and country parties were now distinguished by the epithets of *WHIG* and *TORY*.

²⁷ Burnet, vol. ii.—Wodrow, vol. ii.

²⁸ Burnet, vol. ii.—This account of the apathy of James is confirmed by his letters in Dalrymple's Appendix, part i.

The court party reproached their antagonists with an affinity to the fanatics of Scotland, who were known by the name of *Whigs*; and the country party pretended to find a resemblance between the courtiers and the popish banditti in Ireland, to whom the appellation of *Tory* was affixed²⁹. Such was the origin of those party-names, which will, in all probability, continue to the latest posterity.

The new parliament soon manifested a violent spirit. The commons voted, that it was the undoubted right of the subjects of England to petition the king for the sitting of parliament and the redress of grievances; and that to traduce such petitioning was to betray the liberty of the people, to contribute to subvert the ancient constitution, and to introduce arbitrary power. They renewed the vote of their predecessors, laying the whole blame of the popish plot on the religion of the duke of York; and they brought in a bill for excluding him from the throne. This bill was passed after a warm debate, and carried up to the house of peers; where Shaftesbury and Sunderland argued powerfully for it, and Halifax no less strenuously against it. Through the forcible reasoning of the latter, who discovered an extent of abilities and a flow of eloquence which had never been exceeded in the English parliament, the bill was rejected by a considerable majority of the lords³⁰.

Enraged at this disappointment, the commons discovered their ill humour in many violent and unjustifiable proceedings. They prosecuted the Abhorrers; they impeached the judges; and they persecuted the most intimate friends of the duke of York. At last they revived the impeachment of the popish lords in the Tower, and singled out the viscount Stafford as their victim. He was accordingly brought to trial; and, although labouring under the infirmities of age, he defended himself with great firmness and presence of mind, exhibiting the most striking proofs of his innocence. Yet, to the astonishment of all unprejudiced men, he was condemned by a majority of twenty-four voices. He received with surprise, but with resignation, the fatal verdict; and the people, who had exulted over his conviction, were softened into tears at his execution, by the venerable simplicity of his appearance. He made earnest protestations of his innocence, and expressed a hope that the present delusion would soon be dissipated. A silent assent to his asseveration was observed through the vast multitude of weeping spectators; while some cried, in a faltering accent, "We believe you, my lord!" Even the executioner was touched with the general sympathy. Twice did he suspend the blow, after raising the fatal axe; and

²⁹ Burnet, vol. ii.—Hume, vol. viii.

³⁰ Burnet, vol. ii.—Memoirs of James II.

when at last, by a third effort, he severed that nobleman's head from his body, all the spectators seemed to feel the stroke³¹.

The execution of Stafford opened, in some measure, the eyes of the nation, but did not diminish the violence of the commons. They still hoped, that the king's urgent necessities would oblige him to throw himself wholly upon their generosity. They therefore brought in a bill for an association to prevent the duke of York, or any papist, from succeeding to the crown; and they voted, that all who had advised his majesty to oppose the bill of exclusion were enemies to the king and kingdom. Nor did they stop here. They resolved, that, until a bill to exclude the duke of York should pass they could grant the king no supply, without betraying the trust reposed in them by their constituents. And that Charles might not be enabled, by any other expedient, to support the government, and preserve himself independent, they farther voted, that whoever should thereafter advance money on the customs, excise, or hearth-tax, or should accept or buy any tally of anticipation upon any part of the king's revenue, should be adjudged to hinder the sitting of parliament, and become responsible for, his conduct at the bar of the house of commons³².

Disgusted at these proceedings, Charles resolved to prorogue the parliament; for, although he was sensible that the peers, who had rejected the exclusion bill, would still continue to defend the throne, he saw no hope of bringing the commons to a better temper, and was persuaded that their farther sitting could only serve to keep faction alive, and to prolong the general ferment of the nation. When they received information of his intent, they declared, that whoever advised his majesty to prorogue his parliament, for any other purpose than to pass the bill of exclusion, was a betrayer of the king, and an enemy to the Protestant religion and to the kingdom of England, a promoter of the French interest, and a pensioner of France³³. Jan. 18. This furious resolution, and others of the same nature, determined the king instantly to dissolve the parliament, instead of merely proroguing it.

Both parties had now carried matters so far, that a civil war seemed inevitable, unless the king, contrary to his fixed resolution of not interrupting the line of succession, should agree to pass the bill of exclusion. Charles saw his danger, and was prepared to meet it. A variety of circumstances, however, conspired to preserve the nation from that extremity, and to throw the whole power of government finally into the hands of the king.

³¹ Burnet, vol. ii.—Hume, vol. viii.

³² Journals, Dec. 1680, and Jan. 1681.

³³ Journals, Jan. 10, 1681.

THE PERSONAL CHARACTER of Charles, who, to use the words of one who knew him well, with great *quickness of conception, pleasantness of wit, and variety of knowledge*, “had not a grain of pride or vanity in his whole composition³⁴,” had always rendered him the idol of the populace. The most affable and the best-bred man alive, he treated his subjects like noblemen, like gentlemen, like freemen; not like vassals or boors. His professions were plausible; and his whole behaviour engaging; so that he won the hearts, even while he lost the good opinion of his subjects; and often balanced their judgment of things by their *personal* inclination³⁵.

These qualities, and this part of his conduct, went a great way to give the king hold of the affections of his people. But these were not all. In his public conduct, too, he studied and even obtained a degree of popularity; for, although he often embraced measures inconsistent with the political interests of the nation, and sometimes dangerous to the liberty and religion of his subjects, he had never been found to persevere obstinately in them, but had always returned into that path which the general opinion seemed to point out to him. And, as a farther excuse, his worst measures were all ascribed to the bigotry and arbitrary principles of his brother. If he had been obstinate in denying, to the voice of his commons, the bill of exclusion, he had declared himself ready to pass any other bill that might be deemed necessary to secure the civil and religious liberties of his people during the reign of a popish successor, provided it did not tend to alter the descent of the crown in the true line. This, by the nation at large, was thought a reasonable concession; and, if accepted, would have effectually separated the king from the duke of York, unless he had changed his religion, instead of uniting them by a fear common to both. But the die was thrown; and the leaders of the Whig party resolved to hazard all, rather than hearken to any thing short of absolute exclusion³⁶.

This violence of the commons increased the number of the king's friends among the people. And he did not fail to take advantage of such a fortunate circumstance, in order to strengthen his authority, and to disconcert the designs of his enemies. He represented, to the zealous abettors of episcopacy, the multitude of presbyterians and other sectaries who had entered into the Whig party, both in and out of parliament; the encouragement and favour they met with, and the loudness of their clamours against popery and arbitrary power; which, he insinuated, were intended only to divert the attention of the

34 Sir William Temple.

36 Burnet, vol. ii.

35 Bolingbroke's Dissertation on Parties.

more moderate and intelligent part of the kingdom from their republican and fanatical views. By these means, he made the nobility and clergy apprehend, that the old scheme for the abolition of the church and monarchy was revived; and that the same miseries and oppressions awaited them, to which they had been so long exposed during the former and yet recent usurpations of the commons.

The memory of those melancholy times also united many cool and unprejudiced persons to the crown, and produced a dread that the zeal for civil liberty might engraft itself once more on religious enthusiasm, and deluge the nation in blood. The king himself seemed not to be totally free from such apprehensions. He therefore ordered the new parliament to assemble at Oxford, that the Whigs might be deprived of that encouragement and support which they might otherwise derive from the vicinity of the great and factious city of London. The behaviour of their leaders afforded a striking proof of the justice of the King's fears. Sixteen peers, all violent exclusionists, with the duke of Monmouth at their head, presented a petition against the sitting of the parliament at Oxford; "where the two houses," they said, "could not deliberate in safety; but would be exposed to the swords of the papists and their adherents, of whom too many had crept in to his majesty's guards³⁷." These insinuations, which so evidently pointed at Charles himself, were thrown out merely to inflame the people, not to persuade the king of the terror of the parliament; and, instead of altering his resolution, they served only to confirm his opinion of its propriety.

In assembling a new parliament so soon as two months after the dissolution of the former, Charles had little expectation of meeting with a more favourable disposition in the commons. But he was desirous of demonstrating his readiness to meet the national assembly; hoping, if every method of accommodation should fail, that he might be better enabled to justify himself to the mass of his people, in coming to a final breach with the representative body. The commons, on their part, might easily have perceived, from the place where they were ordered to meet, that the king was determined to act with firmness. But they still flattered themselves, that his urgent necessities and his love of ease would ultimately make him yield to their vehemence. They therefore filled the whole kingdom with noise and tumult. The elections were chiefly against the court; and the popular leaders, armed, and confident of victory, came to Oxford attended by numerous bands of their partisans. The four members for the city of London, in particular, were followed by large

³⁷ Kennet, 1681.—Mem. of James II.

companies, wearing in their hats ribands, in which were woven the blood stirring words, *No Popery ! No Slavery !* The king also made a show of his strength. He entered Oxford in great pomp. His guards were regularly mustered ; his party appeared in force ; and all things, on both sides, wore the aspect of hostile opposition, rather than of civil deliberation or debate³⁸.

Charles, who had generally addressed his parliaments in the most soothing language, on this occasion assumed a more authoritative tone. He reproached the former house of commons with obstinacy, in rejecting his proffered limitations ; he expressed a hope of finding a better temper in the present ; and he assured both houses, that as he should use no arbitrary government himself, he was resolved not to suffer tyranny in others³⁹. The commons were not overawed by this appearance of vigour. They revived the impeachment of Danby, the inquiry into the popish plot, and the bill of exclusion.

Offended at the absurd bigotry of his brother, and willing to agree to any measure that might gain the commons without breaking the line of succession, Charles permitted one of his ministers to propose, that the duke of York should be banished, during life, five hundred miles from England, Scotland, and Ireland ; and that, on the king's decease, the next heir, namely the princess of Orange, should be constituted regent, with regal power. This, as lord Bolingbroke humorously observes, was surely not to vote the lion in the lobby into the house : it would have been to vote him out of the house and lobby both, and only suffer him to be called the lion still⁴⁰. But the past disappointments of the popular leaders, and the opposition made by the court, had soured their temper to such a degree, that no method of excluding the duke, but their own, could give them satisfaction. The king's proposal was, therefore, rejected with disdain ; and Charles, thinking he had now a sufficient apology for adopting that measure which he had foreseen would become necessary, went privately to the house of peers, and dissolved the parliament⁴¹.

A sudden clap of thunder could not more have astonished the popular party, than did this bold step. Prepared for no other than parliamentary resistance, they gave all their towering hopes at once to the wind ; and the great bulwark of opposition which they had been so long employed in raising, quickly vanished into air. They were now sensible, that they had mistaken the temporising policy of Charles for timidity, and his love of ease for want of vigour. They found, that he had patiently

38 Kennet, 1681.

39 Journals of the Lords, March 21, 1681.

40 Dissertation on Parties, Letter vii.

41 Burnet, vol. ii.

waited until things should come to a crisis ; and that, having procured a national majority on his side, he had set his enemies at defiance. No parliament, they knew, would be summoned for some years; and, during that dangerous interval, they foresaw that the court would have every advantage over a body of men dispersed and disunited. Their spirit left them, with their good fortune: fears for themselves succeeded to their violence against the crown. They were apprehensive that a prince whom they had offended and distressed, would use his victory with rigour. And their fears were not destitute of foundation.

From this time forward, the king became more severe in his temper, and jealous in his disposition. He immediately concluded a secret money-treaty with France, that he might govern without parliamentary supplies⁴²; and he published a declaration, vindicating his late violent measure. That declaration was ordered to be read in all the churches and chapels of England; the eloquence of the clergy seconded the arguments of the monarch: addresses, full of expressions of duty and loyalty, were sent to him from all parts of the kingdom; and the people in general seemed to congratulate their sovereign on his happy escape from parliaments⁴³! The doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance were revived; and the bench and the pulpit seemed to contend with each other, which could show most zeal for unlimited power in the crown.

This was a strange and sudden revolution in the sentiments of the nation: yet, had the king pushed his victory no farther, had he been content to enjoy his triumph without violence or injustice, his past conduct might have admitted some apology, and the abettors of the prerogative might have awakened resentment without exciting the warmth of indignation. But Charles was unfortunately at the head of a faction, who seemed to think that the hour of retaliation was come; and as he had formerly temporised to quiet his enemies, he now judged it necessary to give way to the vehemence of his adherents. To gratify the established clergy, a severe persecution was commenced against the presbyterians, and other Protestant sectaries, who had been the chief support of the exclusionists in the house of commons; and the profligate spies, informers, and false witnesses, who had been retained by the popular party in order to establish the reality of the popish plot, and whose perjuries had proved fatal to obnoxious Catholics, were now inlisted by the court, and

⁴² Dalrymple's Append.—James II. 1681.

⁴³ This remarkable change, as Burnet judiciously observes, shows how little dependence can be placed on popular humours, which "have their ebbs and their flowings, their hot and cold fits, almost as certainly as seas or fevers." *Hist. of his own Times*, vol. ii.

played off as engines against their former patrons. The royalists, to use the expressions of a nervous writer, thought their opponents so much covered with guilt, that *injustice* itself became *just* in their punishment⁴⁴.

Every other species of retaliation but this, my dear Philip, may perhaps be vindicated, or admit some excuse. Let force revenge the outrages committed by force: let blood stream for blood; let the pillage of one party repay the depredations of another: these are but temporary evils, and may soon be forgotten: but let not the fountain of justice be poisoned in its source, and the laws, intended to protect mankind, become instruments of destruction. This is the greatest calamity that can befall a nation, famine and pestilence not excepted; and may be considered as the last stage of political degeneracy.

In those times of general corruption and abject servility, when men of all ranks seemed ready to prostrate themselves at the foot of the throne, the citizens of London retained their bold spirit of liberty and independence. The grand jury had judiciously rejected an indictment against the earl of Shaftesbury, on account of the improbability of the circumstances, after perjury had gone its utmost length. Enraged at this disappointment, the court endeavoured to influence the election of the magistrates, and succeeded; but as that contest, it was perceived, might annually recur, something more decisive was resolved upon. A writ of *Quo Warranto* was issued against the city; that is, an inquiry into the validity of a corporation charter, which is presumed to be defective, or to have been forfeited by some offence to be proved in the course of suit. And although the cause of the city was powerfully defended, and the offences pleaded against it were of the most frivolous kind, judgment was given in favour of the crown⁴⁵. The aldermen and common-council, in humble supplication, waited upon the king; and Charles, who had now obtained his end, agreed to restore their charter, but on such terms as would put the proud capital entirely in his power. He reserved to himself the *approbation* of the principal magistrates, and (if he should twice disapprove the lord mayor or sheriffs elected) the *appointment* of others in their room.

Filled with consternation at the fate of London, and convinced how ineffectual a contest with the court would prove, most of

⁴⁴ Macpherson's Hist. Brit. chap. vi.

⁴⁵ Soon after the Revolution, this judgment was reversed by act of parliament; and it was at the same time enacted, that the privileges of the city of London should never be forfeited by any delinquency in the members of the corporation. Stat. 2 W. and M.

the other corporations in England surrendered their charters into the king's hands, and paid large sums for such new ones as he was pleased to frame. By these means a fatal stab was given to the constitution. The nomination of all the civil magistrates, and the disposal of all offices of power or profit, in every corporation of the kingdom, were in a manner vested in the crown; and, more than three-fourths of the house of commons being chosen by the boroughs, the court became sure of an undisputed majority. A perfect despotism was established.

In such times, when it was dangerous even to complain, resistance might be *imprudent*; but no attempt for the recovery of legal liberty could be *criminal* in men who had been born free. A project of this kind had for some time been entertained by a set of determined men, among whom were some of the heads of the country party, though various causes had hitherto prevented it from being brought to maturity: particularly the impeachment of the earl of Shaftesbury, the framer of the plot, and his unexpected departure for Holland, where he soon after died.—But the zeal of the conspirators, which had begun to languish, was rekindled by the seizure of the corporation charters, and a regular plan of insurrection was formed. This business was committed to a council of six; the members of which were, the duke of Monmouth, Lord Russell (son of the earl of Bedford), the earl of Essex, lord Howard, the famous Algernon Sidney, and John Hampden, grandson of the illustrious patriot of that name.

These men had concerted an insurrection in the city of London, where their influence was great; in Scotland, by an agreement with the earl of Argyle, who engaged to bring the covenanters into the field; and in the West of England, by the assistance of the friends of liberty in that quarter. They had even taken measures for surprising the king's guards, though without any design of injuring his person; the exclusion of the duke of York, and the redress of grievances, which they had found could not be obtained in a parliamentary way, being all they proposed by rising in arms. Sidney and Essex, indeed, are said to have embraced the idea of a republic; but Russell and Hampden, the more moderate and popular conspirators, had no views but the restoration of the broken constitution of their country, and the securing of the civil and religious liberties of the nation.

While these important objects were in contemplation, but before any blow had been struck, or even the time fixed for such a purpose, the conspirators were betrayed by one of their asso-

ciates, named Keeling. Lord Howard, a man of no principle, and in needy circumstances, also became a witness for the crown, in hopes of pardon and reward. On the evidence of these and other reformers, several of the conspirators were seized, condemned, and executed. Among these, the most distinguished were Russell and Sidney. Both died with the intrepidity of men who had resolved to hazard their lives in the field, in order to break the fetters of slavery, and rescue themselves and their fellow-subjects from an ignominious despotism⁴⁶. Monmouth, who had absconded, surrendered on a promise of pardon : Essex put an end to his life in the Tower ; and sufficient proof not being found against Hampden to make his crime capital, he was loaded with an exorbitant fine: which, as it was beyond his ability to pay, was equivalent to a sentence of perpetual imprisonment⁴⁷.

The defeat of this conspiracy, known by the name of the *Rye-house Plot*, contributed still farther to strengthen the hands of government, already too strong. The king was earnestly congratulated on his escape ; new addresses were presented to him ; and the doctrine of implicit submission to the civil magistrate, or an unlimited passive obedience, was more openly taught. The heads of the university of Oxford, under pretence of condemning certain doctrines, which they denominated republican, went even so far as to pass a solemn decree in favour of absolute monarchy. The persecution was renewed against the Protestant sectaries, and the most zealous friends of freedom. Justice was perverted with redoubled zeal : and the duke of York was recalled from Scotland, and restored to the office of high admiral, without taking the A. D. 1684. test.

This violation of an express act of parliament could not fail to give offence to the more discerning part of the nation ; but

46 Lord Grey's Hist. of the Rye-house Plot—State Trials, vol. iii.—Law, if not justice, was violated, in order to procure the condemnation of Sidney, whose talents the king feared. Russell's popularity proved no less fatal to him. He was beloved and esteemed by the nation, and therefore seemed to be a necessary victim in those times. Charles accordingly resisted every attempt to save him ; for he scorned, on his trial, to deny his share in the concerted insurrection. In vain did lady Russell, the daughter of the loyal and virtuous Southampton, throw herself at the royal feet, and crave mercy for her husband : in vain did the earl of Bedford offer a hundred thousand pounds, through the mediation of the duchess of Portsmouth, for the life of his son. The king was inexorable. And, to put a stop to all farther importunity, he said, in reply to the earl of Dartmouth, one of his favourite courtiers, and lord Russell's declared enemy, but who yet advised a pardon—"I must have his life, or he will have mine!" (Dalrymple's Append. and Mem. part i.) "My death," said Russell, with a consolatory prescience, when he found his fate was inevitable, "will be of more service to my country, than my life could have been!"

47 Burnet, vol. ii.—The severity of Charles, in punishing these over-zealous friends of freedom, seems to have been intended to strike terror into the whole popular party ; and unfortunately for the criminals, a conspiracy of an inferior kind, which aimed at the king's life, being discovered at the same time, afforded him too good a pretext for his rigour. The assassination plot was confounded, on all the trials, with that for an insurrection.

the duke's arbitrary counsels, and the great favour and indulgence shown to the Catholics through his influence, were more general causes of complaint. He indeed held entirely the reins of government, and left the king to pursue his favourite amusements; to loiter with his mistresses, and laugh with his courtiers. Hence the celebrated saying of Waller:—"The king is not only desirous that the duke should succeed him, but is resolved, out of spite to his parliament, to make him reign even during his life time."

Apprehensive, however, of new conspiracies, or secretly struck with the iniquity of his administration, Charles is said to have seriously projected a change of measures. He was frequently overheard to remonstrate warmly with his brother; and, finding him obstinate in his violent counsels, he resolved A. D. 1685. once more to banish him from the court, call a parliament, and throw himself wholly on the affections of his people. While he was revolving these ideas in his mind, Feb. 6. he was seized with a fit, resembling an apoplexy; which, after an interval of reason, carried him off in the fifty-fifth year of his age, not without suspicions of poison⁴⁸. These suspicions fell not on the duke of York, but on the confessor and other Catholic attendants on the duchess of Portsmouth, to whom she had communicated the king's intentions⁴⁹.

The great lines of Charles's character I have already had occasion to delineate. As a prince, he was void of ambition, and destitute of a proper sense of his dignity in relation to foreign politics. With regard to domestic politics, he was able and artful, but mean and disingenuous. As a husband, he was unfaithful, and neglectful of the queen's person, as well as of the respect due to her character. As a gentleman and companion, he was elegant, easy, gay, and facetious; but having little sensibility of heart, and a very bad opinion of human nature, he appears to have been incapable of friendship or gratitude. As a lover, however, he was generous, and seemingly even affectionate. He recommended, with his latest breath, the duchess of Portsmouth, whom he had loaded with benefits, and her son, the duke of Richmond, to his brother; and earnestly requested him not to let poor Nell starve⁵⁰!—This was Eleanor Gwynne, whom the king had formerly taken from the stage; and who, though no longer regarded as a mistress, had still served to amuse him in a vacant hour⁵¹. So warm an attachment, in his last mo-

⁴⁸ Burnet, vol. ii.

⁴⁹ Id. *ibid*.

⁵⁰ Burnet, *ubi sup*.

⁵¹ It may seem somewhat unaccountable that Charles after so long an acquaintance, should have left Nell in such a necessitous condition, as to be in danger of starving. But this request must only be considered as a solicitous expression of tenderness.

ments, to the object of an unlawful passion, has been regarded, by a great divine and popular historian, as a blemish in the character of Charles. But the philosopher judges differently: he is glad to find, that so profligate a prince was capable of any sincere attachment; and considers even this sympathy with the objects of sensuality, when the illusions of sense could no longer deceive, as an honour to his memory.

The religion of Charles, and his receiving the sacrament on his death-bed from Huddleston, a Romish priest, while he refused it from the divines of the church of England, and disregarded their exhortations, have also afforded grounds of reproach. But if the king was really a Catholic, as is generally believed, and as I have ventured to affirm on respectable authorities⁵², he could neither be blamed for concealing his religion from his subjects, nor for dying in that faith which he had embraced. If, as others contend, he was not a Catholic, his brother took a very extraordinary step, in making him die in the Romish communion. But if he was so weak, when Huddleston was introduced to him by the duke of York, as to be unable to refuse compliance; if he agreed to receive the sacrament from the divines of the church of England, but had not power to swallow the elements⁵³; these circumstances prove nothing but his own feeble condition, and the blind bigotry of his brother. The truth, however, seems to be, that Charles, while in high health, was of no particular religion; but that having been early initiated in the Catholic faith, he always fled to the altar of superstition, when his spirits were low, or when his life seemed to be in danger.

We must now, my dear Philip, return to the line of general history, and examine the progress of the ambition of Louis XIV.

⁵² Burnet, Halifax, Hume, &c. In confirmation of these authorities, see Barillon's Letters to Louis XIV. Feb. 18, 1685, in Dalrymple's Append.

⁵³ Macpherson's Hist. Brit. vol. i. chap. iv.

LETTER XV.

A General View of the Affairs of the Continent, from the Peace of Nimeguen, in 1678, to the League of Augsburg in 1687.

THE peace of Nimeguen, as might have been foreseen by the allies, instead of setting bounds to the ambition of Louis, gave him leisure to perfect that scheme of general monarchy, or

A. D. 1678. absolute sovereignty, in Europe at least, into which he was flattered by his poets and orators; and which, at length, roused a new and more powerful confederacy against him. While the empire, Spain, and Holland, disbanded their supernumerary troops, he still kept up all his : in the midst of profound peace, he maintained a formidable army, and acted as if he had been already the sole sovereign in Europe, and all other princes but his vassals. He established judicatures for reuniting such territories as had anciently depended upon the bishoprics of Mentz, Toul, and Verdun; upon Alsace, or any of his late conquests. These arbitrary courts inquired into titles buried in remote antiquity : they cited the neighbouring princes, and even the king of Spain to appear before them, and render homage to the king of France, or behold the confiscation of their possessions.

No European prince, since the time of Charlemagne, had acted so much like a master and a judge, as Louis XIV. The Palatine, and the elector of Treves, were deprived of the signories of Falkenbourg, Germersheim, Val-

A. D. 1680. dentz, and other places, by his imperious tribunals; and he laid claim to the ancient and free city of Strasburg, as the capital of Alsace. This large and rich city, which was mistress of the Rhine by means of its bridge over that river, had long attracted the eye of the French monarch : and his minister Louvois, by the most artful conduct, at last put him in possession of it. He ordered troops to enter Lorraine, Franche Comté, and Alsace, under pretence of employing them in working on the fortifications in those provinces. But, according to concert, they all assembled in the neighbourhood of Strasburg, to the number of twenty thousand men, and took possession of the ground between the Rhine and the city, as well as of the redoubt that covered the bridge. Louvois appeared at their head, and demanded that the town should be put under the protection of his master. The magistrates had been corrupted: consternation seized the inhabitants; the city opened its gates, after having secured its privileges by capitulation. Vauban, who had fortified so many places, seemed here to exhaust his art; and he rendered Strasburg the strongest barrier of France¹.

Nor did Louis behave with less arrogance on the side of the Low Countries. He demanded the county of Alost from the Spaniards, on the most frivolous, and even ridiculous pretence. His minister, he said, had forgotten to insert it in the articles of peace; and as it was not immediately yielded to him, he blockaded Luxemburg. Alarmed at these ambitious pretensions, the empire, Spain, and Holland, began to take

¹ Hist. d'Alsace, liv. xxiii.—Voltaire, Siècle, chap. xiii.

measures for restraining the encroachments of France. But Spain was yet too feeble to enter upon a new war, and the imperial armies were required in another quarter, to oppose a more pressing danger. The Hungarians, whose privileges Leopold had never sufficiently respected, had again broken out in rebellion; and Tekeli, the head of the insurgents, had called in the Turks to the support of his countrymen. By the assistance of these infidels, he ravaged Silesia, and reduced some important places in Hungary; while the grand signor, Mohammed IV., was preparing one of the most formidable armies that the Ottoman empire had ever sent against Christendom. Leopold, foreseeing that the gathering storm would finally break upon Germany, beside demanding the assistance of the princes of the empire, concluded an offensive and defensive alliance with the king of Poland. This prince was the celebrated John Sobieski, who, in the reign of Michael Wiesnowski, the successor of John Casimir², had signalised his military skill and valour against the Turks; and had so fully established his reputation and interest, that he was, in 1674, raised to the throne which he was qualified to adorn.

The grand vizir, Kara Mustapha, passing through Hungary, at the head of fifty thousand janisaries, thirty thousand spahis, and an extraordinary number of common men, with baggage and artillery in proportion to such a multitude, advanced towards Vienna. The duke of Lorrain, who commanded the imperial forces, attempted in vain to oppose the progress of the invaders. The vizir took the right of the Danube, and Tekeli the left. Seeing his capital thus threatened, the emperor retired first to Lintz and afterwards to Passau. The major part of the inhabitants followed the court, and nothing was to be seen, on all sides, but fugitives, equipages, and carriages laden with moveables³. The whole empire was thrown into consternation.

The garrison of Vienna amounted to about fifteen thousand men; and the citizens able to bear arms, to near fifty thousand. The Turks carried on the siege for several weeks; and, having destroyed the suburbs, at length made a breach in the body of the place. The duke of Lorrain had been so fortunate as to prevent the Hungarians from joining the Turks, but was unable to relieve the garrison; and an assault was every moment expected, when a deliverer appeared. The king of Poland, having joined his troops to those of Saxony, Bavaria, and the circles, made a signal to the besieged from the top of the hill of

² It may here be observed, that John Casimir, disgusted at the turbulence of the nobles, resigned the crown in 1659. In the reign of this prince, the first instance is said to have occurred of the stoppage of the proceedings of the diet by a single *veto*, or negative—an absurd and dangerous privilege.

³ *Annal. de l'Emp.* tome ii.—Barre, tome x.

Schallenberg, and inspired them with new hopes. Kara Mustapha, who, from a contempt of the Christians, had neglected to push the assault, and who, amidst the progress of ruin, had wanted in luxury, was now made sensible of his mistake, when too late to repair it.

The Christians, to the number of fifty thousand, descended the hill, under the command of the king of Poland, the duke of Lorrain, and a great number of German princes. The grand vizir advanced to meet them at the head of the main body of the Turkish army, while he ordered an assault to be made upon the city with twenty thousand men, who were left in the trenches.

Sept. 12. N.S. The assault failed; and the Turks being seized with a panic, were quickly routed. Only five hundred of the victors fell, and not above one thousand of the vanquished. And so great was the terror, and so precipitate the flight of the infidels, that they not only abandoned their tents, artillery, and baggage, but left behind them even the famous standard of Mohammed, which was sent as a present to the pope! The Turks received another defeat in the plain of Barcan; and the Hungarian towns were recovered by the imperial arms⁴.

The king of France, who had supported the malcontents in Hungary, and who encouraged the invasion of the Turks, raised however the blockade of Luxemburg, when they approached Vienna. "I will never," said he, "attack a Christian prince, while Christendom is in danger from the infidels." He was confident, when he made this declaration, that the imperial city would be taken, and had an army on the frontiers of Germany, ready to oppose the farther progress of those very Turks whom he had invited thither! By becoming the protector of the empire, he hoped to procure the election of his son to the dignity of king of the Romans. But this scheme being defeated, and the apprehensions of Christendom removed by the relief of A. D. 1684. Vienna and the expulsion of the Turks, the French resumed the siege of Luxemburg, and reduced not only that place, but also Courtray and Dixmude⁵.

Enraged at these acts of violence, the Spaniards declared war, and attempted to retaliate. And the prince of Orange was eager for a general confederacy against France; but he was not able to draw the king of England into such a league. The emperor, still deeply involved in war with the Turks and Hungarians, could make no effort on the side of Flanders: and the Spaniards alone were unequal to that contest in which, forgetting their weakness, they had rashly engaged. A truce of twenty years was, therefore, concluded by Spain and the empire with France,

⁴ *Annal. de l'Emp.* tome ii.—Barre, tome x.

⁵ *Voltaire, Siècle*, chap. xiii.

at Ratisbon. The principal articles of this temporary treaty were, that Louis should restore Courtray and Dixmude, but might retain Luxemburg, Strasburg, the fortress of Kehl, and part of the re-unions ordered by his arbitrary courts established at Metz and Brisac⁶.

The glory and greatness of the French monarch were still farther extended by means of his naval power. He had now raised his lately created marine to a degree of force that exceeded the hopes of France, and increased the fears of Europe. He had a hundred ships of the line, and sixty thousand seamen. The magnificent port of Toulon, in the Mediterranean, was constructed at an immense expense; and that of Brest, upon the Ocean, was formed on as extensive a plan. Dunkirk and Havre-de-Grace were filled with ships; and Rochefort, in spite of nature, was converted into a convenient harbour. Nor did Louis, though engaged in no naval war, allow his ships to lie inactive in these ports. He sent out squadrons, at different times, to clear the seas of the Barbary pirates: he ordered Algiers twice to be bombarded; and he had the pleasure not only of humbling that haughty predatory city, and of obliging the Algerines to release their Christian slaves, but of subjecting Tunis and Tripoli to the same conditions⁷.

The republic of Genoa, for a slight offence, was no less severely treated than Algiers. The Genoese were accused of having sold bombs and gunpowder to the Algerines; and they had farther incurred the displeasure of Louis, by engaging to build four galleys for the Spaniards. He commanded them, on pain of his resentment, not to launch those vessels. Incensed at this insult on their independence, they paid no regard to the menace. They seemed even desirous to show their contempt of such arrogance; but they had soon occasion to repent their temerity. Fourteen ships of the line, with frigates and bomb vessels, sailed from Toulon, under old Du Quesne; and, appearing before Genoa, suddenly reduced to a heap of ruins part of those magnificent buildings, which had obtained for that city the appellation of PROUD. Four thousand men landed, and the suburb of St. Peter d'Arena was burned. It now became necessary for the Genoese to make submissions, in order to prevent the total destruction of their capital. Louis demanded, that the doge, and four of the principal senators, should come and implore his clemency at Versailles; and, to prevent the Genoese from eluding this satisfaction, or depriving him of any part of his triumph, he insisted that the doge, when sent to deprecate his vengeance, should be continued in office, notwithstanding

⁶ Du Mont, Corps Diplomat. tome vii.

⁷ Voltaire, Siècle, chap. xiii.

the perpetual law of the republic, by which a doge is deprived of his dignity the moment he quits the city. These humiliating conditions were complied with. Imperiale Lascaro, A. D. 1685. in his ceremonial habit, accompanied by four of the principal senators, appeared before Louis in a supplicating posture. The doge, who was a man of wit and vivacity, on being asked by the French courtiers what he saw most extraordinary at Versailles, very pointedly replied—"To see myself here!"

The grandeur of Louis was now at its highest point of elevation; but the sinews of his real power were already somewhat slackened, by the death of the great Colbert. That excellent minister, to whom France was indebted for her most valuable manufactures, her commerce, and her navy, had enabled his master, by the order and economy with which he conducted the finances, to support the most expensive wars; to dazzle with his pomp all the nations of Europe; and to corrupt its principal courts without distressing his people. He has, however, been accused of not sufficiently encouraging agriculture, and of paying too much attention to the manufactures connected with luxury. But he was sensible, that only these, which for a time made all her neighbours in a manner tributary to France, could supply the excessive drain of war, and the ostentatious waste of the king. He was not at liberty to follow his own judgment. The necessities of the state obliged him to adopt a temporary policy, and to encourage the more sumptuous manufactures at the expense of general industry, and consequently of population.

But in the prosecution of this system, which, though radically defective, was the best that could be adopted in such circumstances, Colbert employed the wisest measures. He not only established the most ingenious, and least known manufactures, such as silk, velvet, lace, tapestry, and carpets; but he established them in the cheapest and most convenient places, and encouraged, without distinction, persons of all nations and all religions. Above the rest, the Huguenots seemed to claim his attention. Having long lost their political consequence, they devoted themselves chiefly to manufactures. They every where recommended themselves by their industry and ingenuity, which were often rewarded with great opulence. This opulence begot envy; envy produced jealousy; and soon after the death of Colbert, who had always protected and patronised them, these useful and ingenious sectaries, without the imputation of any crime, were exposed to a cruel and impolitic persecution, which reduced them to the necessity of abandoning their native country.

This persecution, whose progress was marked by the revocation of the famous Edict of Nantes, which had secured to the French Protestants the free exercise of their religion, and was

understood to be perpetual, throws peculiar disgrace on the polished court and enlightened reign of Louis. Even before the repeal of that edict, so blindly bigoted, or so violent and short-sighted, were the French ministers, that the Protestants were not only excluded from all civil employments, but rendered incapable of holding any share in the principal silk manufactures, though they only could carry them on to advantages.

One might think, from such regulations, that those ministers had lived in the darkest ages, or were determined to ruin the state. Nor were their subsequent ordinances less impolitic or absurd. They banished all the Protestant pastors, without once suspecting that the flock would follow them: and when that evil was perceived, it was ineffectually decreed, that such as attempted to leave the kingdom should be sent to the galleys. Those who remained, were prohibited on pain of death even from the private exercise of their religion; and, on pretence of securing the eternal salvation of the children of the misguided heretics, they were ordered to be taken from their parents, and committed to their nearest Catholic relatives, or, in default of those, to such other good Catholics as the judges should appoint for their education. All the terrors of military execution, and all the artifices of priestcraft, were A. D. 1686. employed to make converts; and such as relapsed, were sentenced to the most cruel punishments. As many as formed about a twentieth part of the whole body were put to death in a short time, and a price was set on the heads of others, who were hunted like wild beasts upon the mountains⁹.

By these severities, in spite of the guards that were placed on the frontiers, and every other tyrannical restraint, France was deprived of four hundred thousand of her most valuable inhabitants, who carried their wealth, their industry, and their skill in ingenious manufactures, into England, Holland, and Germany; where Louis found, in his own fugitive and once faithful subjects, not only formidable rivals in commerce, but powerful enemies burning with revenge, and gallant soldiers ready to set bounds to his ambition.

But while this monarch persecuted the French Protestants, in opposition to all the principles of humanity and sound policy, he was no dupe to the court of Rome. On the contrary, he did every thing in his power to mortify Innocent XI., a man of virtue and abilities, who now filled the papal chair. He carried ecclesiastical disputes with him as far as possible, without separating the Gallican church entirely from the apostolic see. In civil affairs, the contest was still warmer, A. D. 1687.

8 Mem. de Noailles, par l'Abbe Millot, tome i.

9 Id. ibid.—Voltaire, Siècle, chap. xxii.

and took its rise from a singular abuse. The ambassadors of popish princes at Rome extended what they called their *quarters*, or the right of freedom and asylum, to a great distance from their houses. This pernicious privilege rendered a great part of that capital a certain refuge for all sorts of criminals ; and, by another privilege, as whatever entered Rome under the sanction of an ambassador's name paid no duty, the trade of the city suffered, and the state was defrauded of its revenue. In order to remedy these abuses, Innocent prevailed on the emperor and the king of Spain to forego such odious rights : and an application to the same purpose was made to the king of France, entreating him to concur with the other princes in promoting the tranquillity and good order of Rome. Louis, who was already dissatisfied with the pope, haughtily replied, that he had never made the conduct of others an example to himself, but, on the contrary, would make himself an example to others ! He accordingly sent his ambassador to Rome, surrounded with guards and other armed attendants ; and the pontiff was able to oppose him only with excommunications¹⁰.

This triumph over the spiritual father of Christendom was the last insult on the dignity of sovereigns, which Louis was suffered to commit with impunity. The emperor had taken Buda from the Turks, after an obstinate siege : he had defeated them with great slaughter at Mohatz : he had entirely subdued the malcontents of Hungary ; and, by his influence, the crown of that realm had been declared hereditary in the house of Austria, and his son Joseph proclaimed king. Though still engaged in hostilities with the infidels, he had now leisure to turn his eye towards France ; nor could he do it with indifference. The same vain glorious ambition which had prompted Louis to tyrannize over the pope, and to persecute his Protestant subjects (that, to use the language of his historians, as there was ONE king there might be but ONE religion in the monarchy,) and which justly alarmed all Germany and the North, at length awakened the resentment of Leopold.

A league had been already concluded by the whole empire at Augsburg, in order to restrain the encroachments of France, and to vindicate the objects of the treaties of Westphalia, the Pyrenees, and the Nimeguen. And an ambitious attempt of Louis to obtain the electorate of Cologne for the cardinal de Furstemberg, one of his own creatures, in opposition to the emperor, at once showed the necessity of such an association, and re-kindled the flames of war in Germany and the Low Countries. Spain and Holland had become principals in the league ; Denmark, Sweden, and Savoy, were afterward gained ; so that

only the accession of England seemed requisite to render the confederacy complete; and that was at last acquired. But, before I enter into particulars, we must take a view of the reign of James II., and the improvement of the English constitution with which it was terminated.

LETTER XVI.

History of Great Britain and Ireland, during the Reign of James II.

THE popular character and temporising policy of Charles II. had so generally reconciled the English nation even to his arbitrary government, that the obnoxious religion, and absurd bigotry of his brother, may be considered as having been fortunate circumstances for the British constitution. For, if James II. had been a Protestant, he might quietly have established despotism in England: or if, as he formerly promised, he had made his religion a private affair between God and his own conscience, he might still have been able to subdue the small remains of liberty, and to establish that absolute sway which he loved. But the justice of these reflections will best appear from the facts by which they were suggested.

The new king, who was fifty-one years of age when he ascended the throne, began his reign with a very popular act. He immediately assembled the privy council, and declared, that, although he had been represented as a man of arbitrary principles, and though he would never relinquish the just rights and prerogatives of the crown, he was determined to maintain the established government, both in church and state, being sensible that the laws of England were sufficient to make him as great a monarch as he could wish¹. This declaration gave great satisfaction to the council, and was received with the warmest applause by the nation. As James had hitherto been considered as a prince of unimpeached honour and sincerity, no one doubted that his intentions were conformable to his professions. "We have now," it was commonly said, "the word of a king; and a word never yet broken!"² It was represented as a greater se-

¹ Printed Declaration.

² Burnet, book iv.

curity to the constitution than any that laws could give. Addresses poured in from all quarters, full not only of expressions of duty, but of the most servile adulation³.

But this popularity was of short continuance. The nation was soon convinced, that the king either was not sincere in his promise of preserving the constitution inviolate, or entertained ideas of that constitution very different from those of his people, and such as could yield no security to their civil or religious liberties. He went openly, and with all the ensigns of his dignity, to mass, an illegal worship: he was even so imprudent as to urge others to follow his example: he sent an agent to Rome, to make submissions to the pope; and he levied taxes without the authority of parliament⁴.

James, however, soon found the necessity of assembling a parliament; and, in consequence of the influence which the crown had acquired in the boroughs, by the violation of the charters, a house of commons was procured as compliant as even an arbitrary prince could wish. If they had been otherwise disposed, the king's speech was more calculated to work on their fears than their affections, to inflame opposition than to conciliate favour, and strongly indicated the violence of his principles. After repeating his promise to govern according to the laws, and to preserve the established religion, he told the commons, that he positively expected they would grant him, during his life, the same revenue which his brother had enjoyed. "I might use many arguments," said he, "to enforce this demand! the benefit of trade, the support of the navy, the necessities of the crown, and the well-being of the government itself, which I must not suffer to be precarious: but I am confident that your own consideration, and your sense of what is just, will suggest to you whatever I might reasonably say on this occasion. There is indeed one popular argument," added he, "which may be urged against compliance with my demands. Men may think, that by *feeding me from time to time* with such supplies as *they think convenient*, they will better secure *frequent meetings of parliament*: but, as this is the first time that I speak to you from the throne, I will answer this argument once for all. I must plainly tell you, that such an expedient would be very improper to employ with ME;

³ The address from the quakers, however, was distinguished by that plainness which has so long characterised the sect. "We are come," said they, "to testify our sorrow for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governor. We are told thou art not of the persuasion of the church of England, any more than we; wherefore, we hope thou wilt grant us the same liberty which thou allowest thyself; which doing, we wish thee all manner of happiness."

⁴ Burnet, book iv.—Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. iii.

and that the best way to engage me to *meet* you *often*, is always to *use* me *well*⁵."

In return to this imperious speech, which a spirited parliament would have received with indignation, both houses presented an address of thanks, without so much as a debate; and the commons unanimously voted, that the revenue enjoyed by the late king, at the time of his death, should be settled on their new sovereign for life. Nor did the generosity of the commons stop here. The king having demanded a farther supply for removing the anticipations on the revenue, and other temporary purposes, they revived certain duties on wines and vinegar, which had been granted to Charles, but which, having expired during the bad humours of his latter parliaments, had not been renewed. To these were added some impositions on tobacco and sugar; all which, under the rigid economy of James, rendered the crown, in time of peace, independent of the parliament.

The Scottish parliament went yet farther than that of England. Both lords and commons declared their abhorrence of all the principles and positions derogatory to the king's *sacred, supreme, sovereign, absolute* authority; of which none, they said, whether single persons or collective bodies, could participate but in dependence on him and by commission from him. They offered, in the name of the nation, to support with their lives and fortunes the present king, and his lawful heirs, against all mortal men: and they annexed the whole excise, both of inland and foreign commodities, for ever to the crown⁶.

This profuse liberality of the parliaments of the two kingdoms, and the general and even abject submission of the two nations, gave the king reason to believe that his throne was as safely established as that of any European monarch. But, while every thing remained in tranquillity at home, a storm was gathering abroad to disturb his repose: and this, although it was dissipated with little trouble, may be considered as a prelude to the great revolution which finally deprived him of his crown, and condemned him and his posterity to a dependent and fugitive life among foreigners.

The prince of Orange, ever since the proposed exclusion of James, had raised his hopes to the English throne. He had entered deeply into intrigues with the ministers of Charles: he had encouraged the parliamentary leaders in their violent opposition; and, unaccountable as it may seem, it appears that he secretly abetted the ambitious views of the duke of Monmouth, though they both aimed at the same object⁷. It is at least cer-

⁵ Journals, May 19, 1685.

⁶ Burnet, book iv.—Hume, vol. viii.

⁷ See King James's Mem. in Macpherson's Original Papers, vol. i. and also the Negotiations of the Count D'Avaux.

tain that he received the duke with great kindness and respect, after he had been pardoned by a fond and indulgent father, for his unnatural share in the Rye house plot, but ordered to leave the kingdom on a new symptom of disaffection ; and that, on the accession of James, when the prince of Orange was professing the strongest attachment to his father-in-law, the duke, the earl of Argyle, and other British fugitives in Holland, were suffered, under his secret protection, to provide themselves with necessaries, and to form the plan of an invasion in hopes of rousing the people to arms¹.

Argyle, who was first ready, sailed for Scotland with three vessels, carrying arms and ammunition; and, soon after his arrival in the Highlands, he found himself at the head of two thousand men. But the king's authority was too firmly established in Scotland to be shaken by such a force. The earl was so far sensible of his weakness, that he was afraid to venture into the low country ; where, if he had been able to keep the field, he might have met with support from the covenanters. At any rate, he ought to have hazarded the attempt, before the ardour of his adherents had leisure to cool, or his well wishers time to discern his danger, instead of waiting for an accession of strength among his mountains. But his situation, it must be owned, was truly discouraging. Government, apprised of his intended invasion, had ordered all the considerable gentry of his clan to be thrown into prison. The militia of the kingdom, to the number of twenty-two thousand men, were soon under arms ; and a third part of them, with some regular forces, were now on their march to oppose him. The marquis of Athol pressed him on one side ; lord Charles Murray on the other ; the duke of Gordon hung upon his rear ; the earl of Dunbarton met him in front. His arms and ammunition were seized, his provisions cut off. In this desperate extremity, he endeavoured to force his way into the disaffected part of the western counties. He accordingly crossed the river Leven, and afterwards the Clyde ; but no person showed either courage or inclination to join him. His followers, who had suffered all the hardships of famine and fatigue gradually deserted ; and he himself, being made prisoner, was carried to Edinburgh, and put to death on a former iniquitous sentence². Two English gentlemen excepted, his adherents, by dispersing themselves, escaped punishment.

Meanwhile the duke of Monmouth, according to agreement, had landed in the west of England ; and, although he was then accompanied only by about eighty persons, the number of his armed partisans soon increased to three thousand. At the head

of these, who were chiefly of the lower class, he entered Taunton; where he was received with such extraordinary expressions of joy, that he issued a declaration asserting the legitimacy of his birth, and assumed the title of king. He now proceeded to Bridgewater, where he was received with equal affection, and proclaimed king by the magistrates, with all the formalities of their office. His party hourly increased; and he was obliged every day, for want of arms, to dismiss great numbers who crowded to his standard. He only, perhaps, needed conduct and abilities to have overturned his uncle's throne.—Observing his want of these, as well as of resources, the nobility and gentry kept at a distance. He had no man of talents or courage, to give advice to him in the closet, or to assist him in the field. Lord Grey, his general of horse, whom he had the weakness to continue in command, was to his own knowledge a coward; and he himself, though personally brave, allowed the expectation of the people to languish, without attempting any bold enterprise¹⁰.

Notwithstanding this imprudent caution, and the news of Argyle's miscarriage, Monmouth's followers continued to adhere to him, after all his hopes of success had failed, and when he had even thought of providing for his own safety by flight. Roused to action by such warm attachment, and encouraged by the prospect of seizing an unexpected advantage, he attacked the king's forces, under the earl of Feversham, at Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater; and if his own misconduct, and the cowardice of lord Grey, had not obstructed his success, he might have obtained a complete victory. Though Grey and the cavalry fled at the beginning of the action, the undisciplined infantry gallantly maintained the combat for three hours; and the duke himself, beside his errors in generalship, quitted the field too early for an adventurer contending for a crown¹¹. About fourteen hundred of the rebels were killed in the battle and pursuit, and nearly an equal number made prisoners.

The duke, with a single attendant, fled to a considerable distance from the scene of action. He changed clothes with a peasant, in order to conceal himself from his pursuers; but he was at length found in a ditch, covered with fern. He had in his pocket some green peas, which had been his only food for several days; and his spirits being exhausted with hunger and fatigue, he burst into tears, and behaved otherwise in a manner unworthy of his character. Even on his arrival in London, al-

¹⁰ Burnet.—Kennet.—Ralph.

¹¹ Burnet, book iv.

lured by the fond hope of life, he was induced to make the meanest submissions, in order to procure a pardon¹²; though he might have been sensible, from the greatness of his offence, and the king's unfeeling disposition, that he could expect no mercy. When that hope failed him, he behaved with becoming dignity; and discovered great firmness and composure at his execution, though accompanied with many horrid circumstances¹³.

Had James used his victory with moderation, this fortunate suppression of a rebellion in the beginning of his reign would have tended much to strengthen his authority; but the cruelty with which it was prosecuted, and the delusive prospects which it opened to his zeal for popery and unlimited power, proved the chief cause of his ruin. Such arbitrary principles had the court infused into its servants, that the earl of Feversham, immediately after the battle of Sedgemoor, and while the soldiers were yet fatigued with slaughter, ordered above twenty of the insurgents to be hanged, without any form of trial. But this instance of illegal severity was forgotten in the more atrocious inhumanity of colonel Kirk, whose military executions were attended with circumstances of wanton barbarity. On his first entry into Bridgewater, he not only hanged nineteen prisoners without the least inquiry into the nature of their guilt, but ordered a certain number to be executed while he and his company should drink the king's health; and observing their feet to quiver, in the agonies of death, he commanded the drums to beat and the trumpets to sound, saying he would give them music to their dancing¹⁴.

Even the inhumanities of Kirk were exceeded by the violence of judge Jeffreys, who showed the astonished nation, that the rigours of law may equal, if they do not often exceed, the ravages of military tyranny. A special commission being issued to this man, whose disposition was brutal and arbitrary,

12 Burnet, book iv.—Memoirs of James.

13 Touched with pity, or unmanned by terror, at the noble presence of Monmouth, and the part he was to perform, the executioner struck him three times, without effect: and then drew aside the axe, declaring he was unable to finish the bloody office. The sheriff obliged him to renew the attempt, and the duke's head was at last severed from his body.

14 Burnet—Kennet—Ralph.—One story, commonly told of Kirk, is memorable in the history of human treachery and barbarity. A beautiful maiden, bathed in tears, threw herself at his feet, and pleaded for the life of her brother. The brutal tyrant, inflamed with desire, but not softened into pity, promised to grant her request, provided she would yield to his wishes. She reluctantly complied with the cruel request, without reflecting that the wretch who could make it was unworthy of credit or confidence. But she had soon reason to know it. After passing the night with him, the wanton and perfidious savage showed her in the morning, from the bed-room window, that beloved brother, for whom she had sacrificed her innocence, hanging on a gibbet, which he had secretly ordered to be erected for the purpose! Rage, indignation, and despair, at once took possession of her soul, and deprived her for ever of her senses.

and who had already given several specimens of his character, he set out, accompanied by four other judges, with a savage joy, as to a full harvest of death. He opened his commission first at Winchester, whence he proceeded to Dorchester, Exeter, Taunton, and Wells, diffusing terror and consternation around him. The juries, struck with his menaces, gave their verdict with hurry and precipitation; so that many innocent persons are supposed to have suffered. About five hundred prisoners were tried and condemned: of these, two hundred and fifty were executed: the rest were transported, condemned to cruel whippings, or permitted, as is said, to purchase their pardon of the tyrannical and prostitute chief-justice¹⁵.

As if desirous of taking upon himself the odium of these rigorous executions, the king rewarded the inhumanity of Jeffreys with a peerage and the office of chancellor; and, on the meeting of parliament, he more fully opened the eyes of the nation, and proceeded to realise those apprehensions, Nov. 9. which had excited the violence of the exclusionists.— He plainly told the two houses, that the militia, in which the nation trusted, having been found, during the late rebellion, altogether insufficient for the safety of government, he had increased the regular forces to double their former number; and he demanded a fresh supply for the support of this additional force. He also took notice, that he had *dispensed* with the test-act, in favour of some Catholic officers; and, to cut short all opposition, he declared, that, having employed them to advantage in the time of need and danger, he was determined neither to expose them afterwards to disgrace, nor himself to the want of their service¹⁶.

If James had used his dispensing power without declaring it, it is probable that no opposition would have been made to this dangerous exercise of prerogative by the present obsequious parliament. But at once to invade the civil constitution, threaten the established religion, maintain a standing army, and require the concurrence of the two houses in all these measures, exceeded the bounds of their patience. The commons took into consideration his majesty's speech: they proceeded to examine the dispensing power of the crown: and they voted an address to the king against it. The lords appointed a day for taking the speech into consideration; and James, afraid that they also would make an application against his dispensing power, immediately proceeded to a prorogation; so imperious

¹⁵ Ralph.—Kennet.—What rendered these severities less excusable, was, that most of the prisoners were persons of low condition, who could never have disturbed the tranquillity of government. Burnet, book iv.

¹⁶ Journals, Nov. 9, 1685.

was his temper, so lofty the idea which he entertained of his own authority, and so violent were the measures suggested by his own bigotry and that of his priests⁷. By four more prorogations, he continued the parliament during a year and a half; but having in vain tried, by separate applications, to break the firmness of the leading members, he at last dissolved that assembly; and as it seemed impossible for him to find among his Protestant subjects a set of men more devoted to royal authority, it was concluded that he intended thenceforth to govern wholly without a parliament.

His disappointment in England did not divert him from pursuing the same views in Scotland: and the implicit submission exhibited by the northern parliament at its first meeting flattered him with the most pleasing hopes of success. But experience soon convinced him, that those men who had resigned their political freedom with so much seeming indifference, were not to be persuaded to endanger the Protestant faith. Though he demanded, in the most soothing expressions, some indulgence for the Catholics, and supported this request with proposals of advantage to the Scottish nation, the parliament showed no inclination to repeal any of the penal laws. A. D. 1686. It was therefore prorogued by the commissioner, and soon after dissolved by the king¹⁸.

Resolute, however, in his purpose, this misguided monarch, in contempt of the general voice of the legislative body of the two kingdoms, determined to support his prerogative of dispensing with the penal statutes against sectaries, by the authority of Westminster-hall. With that view, four judges were displaced, and men of more compliant tempers substituted in their room. A case in point was produced: and the chief-justice Herbert upon the issue declared, that there was *nothing* whatever with which the *King*, as *supreme Law giver*, might not *dispense*. This decision was confirmed by eleven out of the twelve judges. But the arguments of lawyers, founded upon ancient precedents, had no influence upon the sentiments of the nation. Men in general could not distinguish between a dispensing and a repealing power in the crown; and they justly deemed it unreasonable, that less authority should be necessary to repeal than to enact any statute. If one penal law was dispensed with, any other might undergo the same fate: and by what principle could even the laws that define property, be afterward secured from violation?—The test-act had ever been considered as the great barrier of the national religion under a popish successor. As such it had been insisted on by the parliament, as such granted by the late king; and as such, during the debates upon the bill

of exclusion, it had been recommended by the chancellor. By what magic then, it was asked, by what chicane of law, is it now annihilated, and rendered of no validity¹⁹?

Fortified with the opinion of the judges in favour of his dispensing power, James now thought himself authorised to countenance more openly his religious friends. The earl of Powis, the lords Arundel, Bellasis, and Dover, all zealous Catholics, and who had long managed in private the affairs of the nation, in conjunction with the earl of Sunderland, were publicly received at the council board. Bellasis, soon after, was placed at the head of the treasury, and Arundel succeeded Halifax in the office of privy-seal. The king's apostolic enthusiasm, in a word, which seemed to have divested him of common prudence, rendered him so desirous of making proselytes, that all men plainly saw the only way to acquire his favour and confidence was to embrace the Catholic faith. Sunderland affected such a change; and, in Scotland, the earls of Murray, Perth, and Melfort, were brought over to the religion of the court²⁰.

These were bold advances: but it was yet only in Ireland, where the majority of the people were already attached to the Romish communion, that the king thought himself at liberty wholly to pull off the mask, and proceed to the full extent of his zeal and violence. On the accession of James, the duke of Ormond had been recalled from the government of that kingdom; and, after the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion, orders were sent to the lords-justices, under colour of preventing a like insurrection, to seize the arms of the Irish militia, who were all Protestants, and deposit them in different magazines. Nor did the vigilance of government stop here. Talbot, a violent papist, having been created earl of Tyrconnel, and appointed lieutenant-general of the king's forces in Ireland, dismissed near three hundred Protestant officers, and a great number of private men, under pretence of new modelling the army. The earl of Clarendon went over as lord-lieutenant; but, as he had refused to oblige the king by changing his religion, he soon found that he possessed no credit or authority. He was even a kind of prisoner in the hands of the general; and as he strenuously opposed the violent measures of the Catholics, he was soon recalled, and Tyrconnel substituted in his place²¹. The unhappy Protestants now saw all the civil authority, as well as the military force, transferred into the hands of their inveterate enemies, and dreaded a renewal of massacre. Great numbers, filled with such apprehensions, left their habitations, and came over to England; where the horror against popery was already roused

19 Sir Robert Atkins.—Burnet. Hume.

21 Clarendon's Letters.

20 Burnet, book iv.—James II. 1686.

to the highest pitch, by the frightful tales of the French refugees, who, in consequence of the revocation of the edict of Nantes, had fled from the persecutions of Louis XIV.

The more moderate Catholics were sensible that these extravagant measures would ruin the cause which they were intended to serve. But the king was so entirely governed by the violent counsels of his queen, an Italian princess, and by those of father Petre his confessor, that the boldness of any measure seems to have been with him a sufficient reason for adopting it. He now A. D. 1687. not only re-established the court of high commission, but issued a declaration of general indulgence, or liberty of conscience, "by his sovereign authority, and *absolute power*," to his subjects of all religions²². Such an indulgence, though illegal, might have been considered as liberal, if the king's private purpose, the more ready introduction of popery, had not been generally known. Yet so great was the satisfaction arising from present ease, and so violent the animosity of the Protestant sectaries against the established church, that they received the royal proclamation with expressions of joy and exultation²³.

If the dissenters were ever deceived in regard to James's views, he took care soon to open their eyes, and to display his bigotry and imprudence to all Europe. He despatched the earl of Castlemain ambassador extraordinary to Rome, to reconcile his kingdoms, in form, to the holy see; and although Innocent XI. very justly concluded, that a scheme conducted with such indiscretion could not be successful, he sent a nuncio to England, in return for the embassy. All communication with the pope had been made treason by act of parliament: but so little regard did James pay to the laws, that he gave the nuncio a public audience at Windsor; and the duke of Somerset being then in waiting, as one of the lords of the bed-chamber, was deprived of all his employments, because he refused to assist at the illegal ceremony. The nuncio afterwards resided openly in London. Four Catholic bishops were consecrated at the king's chapel, and sent out under the title of *vicars apostolical* to exercise the episcopal function in their respective dioceses. The Jesuits were permitted to erect a chapel and form a college in the Savoy; the Recollects built a chapel in Lincoln's Inn Fields; the Carmelites formed a seminary in the city; fourteen monks were settled at St. James's; in different parts of the country, places of public worship were erected by the papists; and the religious of the Romish communion appeared at court in the habits of their respective orders²⁴.

²² Burnet, book iv.

²⁴ Ralph.—Kennet.—Hume.

²³ Id. *ibid*.

Nothing now remained for James, who had already transferred almost every great office, civil and military, in the three kingdoms, from the Protestants to their spiritual enemies, but to throw open the doors of the church and universities to the Catholics: and this attempt was soon made. The king sent a letter to the vice chancellor of Cambridge, commanding the admission of one Francis, a Benedictine monk, to the degree of master of arts, without the usual oaths. A refusal was given; and the king, after suspending the vice-chancellor, desisted from farther attacks upon that university²⁵. But the compliant temper of the university of Oxford, which had, in a formal decree, made profession of *passive obedience*, gave James hopes of better success there, though he carried still higher his pretensions.

The presidency of Magdalen college (one of the richest foundations in Europe), having become vacant, one Farmer, a recent convert to popery, was recommended by a royal mandate, accompanied with a dispensation from the usual oaths. The fellows of that society entreated the king to recal his mandate, or recommend some person more worthy of the office than Farmer; but the day of election arriving before they received any answer, they chose Dr. Hough, a man of learning, virtue, and spirit, who braved the threatening danger.

A citation was issued for the members of the college to appear before the court of high-commission, and answer for their disobedience. The matter came to a regular hearing; and such articles of folly and vice were proved against Farmer, as justified the fellows in rejecting him, without having recourse to the legal disqualifications under which he laboured. The commissioners, however, proceeded to the deprivation of Dr. Hough, and a new mandate was issued in favour of Parker, lately created bishop of Oxford; a man of dissolute morals, but who, like Farmer, had atoned for all his vices by his willingness to embrace the Romish religion. The society replied, that no new election could be made till the former should be *legally* annulled. A new ecclesiastical commission was issued for that purpose; and the commissioners, attended by three troops of horse, repaired to Oxford; expelled the refractory president and all the fellows, except two, who had uniformly adhered to the king's mandate; and installed Parker in the presidency of the college²⁶.

Of all the acts of violence committed during the tyrannical reign of James, this may perhaps be considered as the most illegal and arbitrary. It accordingly occasioned great discontent, and gave a general alarm to the clergy. The church, the chief

²⁵ Kennet.—Ralph.

²⁶ Burnet, book iv.—MS. Account by Dr. Smith, in Macpherson's Hist. Brit. vol. i.—Hume, vol. viii.

pillar of the throne, and which, during the two last reigns, had supported it with such unshaken firmness; the church, which had carried the prerogative so high, and which, if protected in her rights, would have endeavoured still more to exalt it; the church, now seeing those rights invaded, and her very fountains in danger of being poisoned, took refuge in the generous principles of liberty, and resolved to maintain that constitution which her courtly subserviency had almost ruined.

The king, however, was determined to adhere to his arbitrary measures; and as a balance to this reverend body, whose opposition he had wantonly roused, he endeavoured to gain the Protestant dissenters, and to form an unnatural coalition between them and the Catholics. With that view, he took occasion frequently to extol the benefits of toleration, and to exclaim against the severities of the church of England. He commanded an inquiry to be made into all the oppressive prosecutions which the dissenters had suffered, as a prelude to yielding them security or redress; and by means of that ascendancy which the crown had acquired over the corporations, he thrust many of them into the magistracy, under various pretences, in hopes of being able to procure a parliament that would give its sanction to the repeal of the test-act and the penal laws against non-conformity. He affected to place them on the same footing with the Catholics; and, to widen the breach between them and the church, whose favour he despaired of recovering, but whose loyalty he never suspected, he issued a new declaration of indulgence, and ordered it to be read in all the pulpits²⁷.

This order was considered as an insult on the hierarchy; and an insidious attempt to draw its members into disgrace, for, as the penal laws against non-conformists had, in a great measure, been procured by the church, the clergy were sensible, that any countenance which they might give to the dispensing power would be regarded as a desertion of their fundamental principles. They determined, therefore, rather to hazard the vengeance of the crown, by disobedience, than fulfil a command they could not approve, and expose themselves, at the same time, to the certain hatred and contempt of the people.

Conformably to this resolution, and with a view to encourage every one to persevere in it, six bishops (namely, Lloyd of St. Asaph, Kenn of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Lake of Chichester, White of Peterborough, and Trelawney of Bristol), met at Lambeth, and concerted with the primate Sancroft the form of a petition to the king, beseeching him not to insist upon their reading the declaration, as it was founded on a prerogative re-

peatedly declared illegal by parliament. Enraged at this unexpected opposition to his favourite measure, James ordered them to be committed to the Tower, on their refusing to give bail for their appearance before the court of King's Bench, to answer for what was denominated a high misdemeanour, and was afterwards treated as a libel²⁸.

James was not insensible of the danger of continuing this tyrannical prosecution, though his pride would not allow him to desist. But the circumstances attending the commitment of the bishops ought still farther to have opened his eyes, and made him perceive the dreadful precipice upon which he was rushing. As they were carried by water to the Tower, multitudes of anxious spectators crowded the banks of the river, and at once implored the blessing of those venerable prelates, and offered their petitions to Heaven for the safety of the persecuted guardians of their religion. Even the soldiers, seized with the contagion of the same spirit, are said to have craved, on their knees, the benediction of the holy prisoners whom they were appointed to guard²⁹.

A like scene was exhibited, when the bishops were conducted to trial. Persons of all conditions were affected with the awful crisis to which affairs were reduced, and considered the decision of the cause depending, as of the utmost importance to both king and people. The marquis of Halifax, the earls of Bedford and Shrewsbury, and twenty-six other temporal peers, attended the prisoners to Westminster hall; and such crowds of gentry joined in the procession, that little room was left for the populace to enter. The trial, which lasted near ten hours; was managed with ability by the counsel on both sides, and listened to with the most eager attention. Though the judges held their seats only during pleasure, two of them had the courage to declare against a dispensing power in the crown, as inconsistent with all law: and if the dispensing power was not legal, it followed of course, that the bishops could not be criminal in refusing obedience to an illegal command. The jury at length withdrew; and when they brought in their verdict, "Not Guilty," the populace, who filled Westminster hall and all Palace yard, June 30. shouted thrice with such vehemence, that the sound reached the city³⁰. The loudest acclamations were immediately echoed from street to street, bonfires were lighted, and every other demonstration given of public joy. Nor were the rejoicings on account of this legal victory confined to the capital: they rapidly

28 Kennet.—Ralph.

29 Burnet.—Hume.

30 Price to Beaufort, June 30. 1688, MS. in Macpherson's Hist. Brit. vol. i.

spread over the whole kingdom, and found their way even into the camp³¹; where the triumph of the church was announced to the king in the shouts of his mercenary army³².

If James had made use of that naturally sound, though narrow, understanding, with which he was endowed, he would now have perceived, that the time was come for him to retract, unless he meant seriously to sacrifice his crown to his religious prejudices. But he was so blinded by bigotry, and so obstinate in his arbitrary measures, that, although he knew they were execrated by all orders of men in the state, a few Catholics excepted, he was, from a singular infatuation, incapable even of remitting his violence in the pursuit of them. He immediately displaced the two judges who had given their opinion in favour of the bishops; issued orders to the ecclesiastical commissioners to prosecute all the clergy who had not read his declaration (that is, the whole body of the church of England, except about two hundred;) and sent a mandate to the new fellows, whom he had obtruded on Magdalen college, to elect for president, in the room of Parker, lately deceased, one Gifford, a doctor of the Sorbonne; and he is said to have nominated the same person to to see of Oxford³³.

Such violent and repeated infringements of the constitution could not fail to alarm the whole nation. Even the most candid and moderate men now ascribed the king's measures to a settled system for the introduction of popery and despotism; and the only consolation to the public was the advanced age of the king, with the prospect of a Protestant successor, who would replace every thing on ancient foundations. This consideration, together with the great naval and military force of James, kept the more ardent spirits from having immediate recourse to arms; and the prince of Orange, who still maintained a secret correspondence with the English malcontents, and was ready on any

31 Burnet, book iv.

32 To convince the people that he was determined to support his authority by force of arms, if necessary, and to overawe them by a display of his power, the king had, for two summers past, encamped his army, to the number of fifteen thousand men, on Hounslow heath. He spent much of his time in training and disciplining these troops; and a popish chapel was erected in the midst of the camp, with a view of bringing over the soldiers to that communion. But the few converts that the priests made, were treated with such contempt and ignominy by their companions, as deterred others from following the example. The king had reviewed his army on the same morning that the jury gave their verdict in favour of the prelates; and having afterward retired into the tent of the earl of Feversham, he was suddenly alarmed with a great uproar in the camp, attended with the most extravagant expressions of tumultuous joy. He anxiously inquired the cause; and the earl replied, that "it was nothing but the rejoicing of the soldiers for the acquittal of the bishops."—"And do you call that nothing?" exclaimed James, ready to burst with rage and indignation.—Kennet.

33 Burnet.—Ralph.—Hume.

emergency to obey the call of the nation, seemed to have laid aside all thoughts of an open rupture, and to wait patiently for an event that could not be very distant—the death of James.

But these hopes, both at home and abroad, were suddenly blasted by the birth of a prince of Wales. From a son, educated by such a father, nothing could be expected but a continuance of the same unconstitutional measures. People of all ranks took the alarm, as if a regular plan had been formed for entailing popery and arbitrary power on them and their descendants to the latest posterity. Calumny went even so far, though the queen's delivery was as public as the laws of decency would permit, that the king was accused of imposing upon the nation a supposititious child, who might support, after the death of James, the Catholic religion in his dominions. And the prince of Orange did not fail to propagate the improbable tale; which, in the present state of men's minds, was greedily received by the populace both in England and Holland³⁴.

Under these apprehensions, many of the English nobility and gentry, and some of the principal clergy, invited the prince to come over and assist them, by arms, in the recovery of their constitutional rights. In this invitation men of opposite parties concurred³⁵. The Whigs, conformably to those patriotic principles which had led them to urge the bill of exclusion, were eager to expel from the throne a prince whose conduct had fully justified all that their fears had predicted of his succession: the Tories, enraged at the preference shown to the Catholics—and the church, inflamed by recent injuries—resolved to pull down the idol that their own hands had made, and which they had blindly worshipped. Their eyes being now opened, they saw the necessity of restoring and securing the constitution. And the Protestant non-conformists, whom the king had gained by his indulgence, judged it more prudent to look forward for a general toleration, to be established by law, than to rely any longer on the insidious caresses of their theological adversaries.—Thus, my dear Philip, by a wonderful coalition, was faction for a time silenced; all parties sacrificing, on this occasion, their former animosities, to the apprehension of a common danger, or to the sense of a common interest³⁶. The Revolution, even in its beginning, was a national work; and patriotism, under the guidance of political wisdom, suggested the glorious plan.

Not satisfied with a formal invitation, several English noblemen and gentlemen went over to Holland, and in person encouraged the prince of Orange to attempt their deliverance

³⁴ Burnet, book iv.

³⁵ Burnet.—Dalrymple's Memoirs.

³⁶ For a more full account of this coalition, see Bolingbroke's *Dissertation on Parties*, Let. vii. and Hume, vol. viii.

from popery and arbitrary power. The request was too flattering to be slighted. William, from the moment of his marriage with Mary, had kept his eye on the crown of England ; though he had a complicated scheme of policy to conduct, and many interfering interests to reconcile on the continent. Happily these interests conspired to promote his proposed enterprise. The league of Augsburg, formed to break the power of France, could not accomplish its object without the accession of England. The house of Austria, therefore, in both its branches, and even pope Innocent XI., preferring their political views to their zeal for the Catholic faith, countenanced the projected expulsion of James, who had refused to take part in the league, as the only means of humbling Louis, their common enemy.—The majority of the German princes were in the same interest ; and the prince of Orange held conferences, not only with Castanaga, governor of the Spanish Netherlands, but with the electors of Brandenburg and Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, and the whole house of Lünenburg. It was agreed that these princes should protect the United Provinces during the absence of William³⁷.

Other circumstances contributed to facilitate the designs of the prince of Orange. The elector of Cologne (who was also bishop of Liege and Munster) having died about this time, a violent contest arose for so valuable a succession. The candidates were prince Clement of Bavaria, supported by the house of Austria, and the cardinal de Furstemberg, a prelate dependent on France. The former at length prevailed ; and, as Louis threatened to recover by force what he had lost by intrigue, the prince of Orange formed a camp, between Grave and Nimeguen, of twenty thousand men, under pretence of guarding against danger on that side. Upon other pretences, he forwarded his preparations by sea ; and had equipped for service twenty ships of the line, without having recourse to the states³⁸. But the states, though not formally admitted into the secret counsels of William, could not be ignorant of his real views ; and the body of the people, being highly irritated against France, exhibited the utmost eagerness for warlike attempts. The commerce of the Dutch with that kingdom had lately been diminished in the proportion of one-fourth, by unusual restrictions ; their religious rage was kindled by the cruelties which Louis inflicted on the Protestants : the terrors raised by the bigotry of James in England had also spread to Holland ; and the enthusiastic zeal of these potent monarchs for the Catholic faith was represented, in both countries, as the certain ruin of the

³⁷ Burnet, book iv.—D'Avaux, tome iv.

³⁸ Burnet.—D'Avaux.

Protestant cause, unless restrained by the most vigorous exertions—by the united efforts of all the members of the reformed communion³⁹.

While one half of Europe thus combined against the king of England, while many of his own subjects were determined to oppose his power, and more to divest him of his authority, James, as if blinded by destiny, reposed himself in the most supine security, and disregarded the repeated accounts of the preparations conveyed to his ears. In vain did Louis, who had early received certain information of the designs of the prince of Orange, attempt to rouse the infatuated monarch to a sense of his danger: in vain did he offer his aid. Deceived by his ambassador in Holland, and betrayed by the earl of Sunderland, James had the weakness to believe, that the rumour of an invasion was only raised by his enemies, in order to frighten him into a closer connexion with France, and thus to complete the defection of his subjects⁴⁰. Nor was this jealousy, though carried to an imprudent height, entirely without foundation; for when Louis took the liberty to remonstrate with the states, by his ambassador D'Avaux, against their preparations to invade England, not only the Dutch but the English took the alarm.—Their apprehensions of a league between the two monarchs, for the destruction of the Protestant religion, seemed now to be confirmed, and the wildest stories were propagated to that purpose⁴¹.

Had the defection occasioned by these fears been confined to the English populace, or merely to men in a civil capacity, James might still have bidden defiance to the designs of his son-in-law. But unhappily for that misguided monarch, both the fleet and army were infected with the same spirit of disloyalty. Of this he had received some mortifying proofs, when certain advice was brought him, from his minister in Holland, that he must soon expect a formidable invasion, as the states had at last acknowledged, that the purpose of all their naval preparations was to transport forces into England.

Though James might have foreseen such an attempt, he was much affected with the news: he grew pale, and the letter dropped from his hand. His delirium of power vanished; and he found himself on the brink of a terrific precipice, which had hitherto been concealed from his view by the illusions of superstition. He now saw the necessity of providing for his safety, as well as of endeavouring to conciliate the affections of his people. He immediately ordered his fleet to be assembled, and his army to be recruited. He sent for troops from Scotland and

³⁹ Burnet,—Ralph.

⁴⁰ D'Avaux, tome iv.—James II. 1688.

⁴¹ Id. *ibid*.

Ireland; and, to his no small satisfaction, found his land-forces amount to forty thousand men⁴².

Nor was the king less liberal of his civil concessions than vigorous in his military preparations. He had already issued writs for the speedy meeting of parliament; and these were followed by a declaration, importing that it was his fixed purpose to endeavour to establish a *LEGAL* settlement of an universal liberty of conscience for his subjects; that he had resolved to preserve inviolate the church of England, and that Catholics should still remain incapable of sitting in the house of commons. He gave orders for the reinstatement of all the deputy-lieutenants and justices who had been deprived of their commissions for their adherence to the test and the penal laws against non-conformists; restored to the corporations the privileges of which they had been defrauded; annulled the court of ecclesiastical commission; re-established the expelled president and fellows of Magdalen college; and invited again to his councils the bishops whom he had so lately persecuted and insulted, assuring them, that he was ready to do whatever they should think necessary for the security of the Protestant religion and the civil rights of his subjects⁴³.

But these concessions, though important in themselves, were made too late, and were coldly received by the nation; and the conduct of the king, in other respects, did not correspond with such conciliatory measures. He recalled the writs for the meeting of parliament; a step which created general doubts of his sincerity, and begot a belief that all his concessions were no more than temporary expedients. He showed, however, a laudable zeal for his own honour, in obtaining a legal proof of the birth of the prince of Wales; but by an imprudence approaching to insanity, the heir of the crown was baptised in the Romish communion, and the pope, represented by his nuncio, stood god-father to the boy⁴⁴.

The prince of Orange continuing his preparations, a powerful fleet was ready to put to sea: the troops fell down the Maes from Nimeguen: the transports, which had been hired at different ports, were speedily assembled: the artillery, arms, ammunition, provisions, horses, and men, were embarked; and William, after taking formal leave of the states, and calling God to witness that he had not the least intention to invade, subdue, or make himself master of the kingdom of England, went himself on board⁴⁵. His armament consisted of fifty stout ships of war, twenty-five frigates, and an equal number of fire-ships; with four hundred transports, carrying about fourteen thousand sol-

42 James II. 1688.

44 Burnet, book iv.—James II. 1688.

43 Gazettes, *passim*.

45 Neuville, tome i.

diers. Admiral Herbert, who had left the service of James, led the van ; the Zealand squadron, under vice-admiral Evertzen, brought up the rear ; and the prince in person commanded in the centre, carrying a flag with English colours, and his own arms surrounded with these popular words—"THE PROTESTANT RELIGION and the LIBERTIES of ENGLAND." Under this inscription was placed the apposite motto of the house of Nassau : *Je maintiendrai*, "I will maintain"⁴⁶!"

This great embarkation, the most important which had, for some ages, been undertaken in Europe, was scarcely completed, when a dreadful tempest arose at south-west, and drove the Dutch fleet to the northward. The storm raged for twelve hours and the prince was obliged to return to Helvoetsluys. But he soon repaired his damages, and again put to sea. An east wind carried him down the Channel ; where he was seen from both shores, between Dover and Calais, by vast multitudes of anxious spectators, who felt alternately the extremes of hope and fear, mingled with admiration, at such a magnificent spectacle. After a prosperous voyage, he^{Nov. 5.} landed his army in Torbay, without the smallest opposition either by sea or land⁴⁷.

The same wind which favoured the enterprise of the prince of Orange, confined the English fleet to its own coast. Lord Dartmouth, who was inviolably attached to James, lay near Harwich with thirty-eight ships of the line, and twenty-three frigates ; a force sufficient to have disconcerted the designs of William, if it could have put to sea ; so that the success of the glorious Revolution may be said to have depended upon the winds ! The destruction of the Dutch fleet, even after the landing of the prince, would have discouraged his adherents, and proved fatal to his undertaking. Sensible of this, Dartmouth came before Torbay, with a fixed resolution to attack the Hollanders, as they lay at anchor. But his fleet was dispersed by a violent storm, and forced to return to Spithead, in such a shattered condition, as to be no more fit for service that season⁴⁸. It is no wonder that after such fortunate circumstances, many of William's followers began to consider him and themselves as the peculiar favourites of Heaven ; and that even the learned Dr. Burnet could not help exclaiming, in the words of Claudian,

*O nimium dilecte Deo, cui militat aether,
Et conjurati veniunt ad classica venti !*

"Heaven's darling charge ! to aid whose great design,
"The fighting skies and friendly winds combine."

46 Burnet, book iv.—D'Avaux, tome iv.

48 Burnet, book iv.—Torrington's Mem.

47 14 ibid.

The prince, immediately on his landing, dispersed a printed declaration, which had been already published in Holland, and contributed not a little to his future success. In that elaborate performance, written originally in French by the pensionary Fagel, and translated into English by Dr. Burnet, the principal grievances of the three British kingdoms were enumerated, namely, the exercise of a dispensing and suspending power; the revival of the court of ecclesiastical commission; the filling of almost all offices with Catholics; the open encouragement given to popery, by building numerous chapels and seminaries for that sect; the displacing of judges, if they gave sentence contrary to the orders or the inclinations of the court; the annulling of the charters of the corporations, so as to subject elections to arbitrary will; the treating of petitions to the throne, even the most modest, and from persons of the highest rank, as criminal and seditious; the commitment of the whole authority in Ireland into the hands of papists; and the assumption of an absolute power over the religion and laws of Scotland. He concluded with protesting, that the sole object of his expedition was to procure a redress of these grievances from a legal and free parliament, which, besides examining the proofs of the legitimacy of the prince of Wales⁴⁹, might provide for the liberty and security of the nation.

Though this declaration was received with ardour by the nation, the prince, for some time after his landing, could not boast of his good fortune. A great deal of rain having fallen, the roads were rendered almost impassable; and he possessed neither cattle nor carriages sufficient to convey the baggage of his army.

⁴⁹ The proofs produced by James, in support of the birth of his son, before an extraordinary council, to which the lords both spiritual and temporal were summoned, and at which the mayo and aldermen of London and all the judges were present, were as strong as the case seemed to require. But if any doubts in regard to this matter could still remain in the most prejudiced mind, the declaration of the duke of Berwick, the king's natural son, and a man of unimpeached veracity, would be sufficient to remove them. "I could speak knowingly on the subject," says he, "for I was present; and notwithstanding my respect and attachment to the king, I could never have consented to so detestable an action, as that of introducing a supposititious child, in order to deprive the true heirs of the crown. Much less should I have continued, after the king's death, to support the pretensions of an impostor: honour and conscience would have restrained me." (*Mém. of the duke of Berwick*, written by himself, vol. i. p. 40.) The answer of Anne princess of Denmark (July 4, 1688) to the questions of her sister Mary, relative to the birth of the prince of Wales, is still more satisfactory. Though seemingly disposed to favour the idea of an imposture, she enumerates so particularly, even to *indelicacy*, the *circumstances* attending the queen's *delivery*, and the persons of both sexes present at it (who were many, and of high rank), that it is truly astonishing William should afterward have assigned the illegitimacy of the supposed prince, as one of his reasons for landing in England. (Dalrymp. Append. part ii.) See farther, on this much-contested subject, a Letter from Dr. Hugh Chamberlayne to the Princess Sophia, *ubi sup.*

He directed, however, his encumbered march to Exeter; but without being joined by any person of eminence, either on his way, or for eight days after his arrival at that place. His troops were discouraged: he himself began to think of abandoning his enterprise; and actually held a council of his principal officers, to deliberate whether he should not re-embark⁵⁰. Impatient of disappointment, he is said even to have publicly declared his resolution to permit the English to settle their own differences with their king, and to direct his father-in-law where to punish, by transmitting to him the secret correspondence of his subjects⁵¹.

The friends of the court exulted at the coldness of William's reception; but their joy was of short duration. One Burrington having shown the example, the prince was joined by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerset, and an association was signed for his support. The earl of Abingdon, Mr. Russel, Mr. Wharton, Mr. Howe, and many other persons of influence, repaired to Exeter. All England was soon in commotion. Lord Delamere took arms in Cheshire; the city of York was seized by the earl of Danby; the earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince; and the earl of Devonshire made a like declaration in Derby⁵². Every day discovered some new instance of that general confederacy, into which the nation had entered against the measures of the king. But the most dangerous symptom, and that which rendered his affairs desperate, was the defection of the army. Many of the principal officers were animated with the prevailing spirit of the nation, and disposed to prefer the interests of their country to their duty to their sovereign. Though they might have a due sense of the favours which James had conferred upon them, they were startled at the thought of rendering him absolute master, not only of the liberties, but even of the lives and property of his subjects; yet this, they saw, must be the consequence of suppressing the numerous insurrections, and obliging the prince of Orange to quit the kingdom. They therefore determined rather to bear the reproach of infidelity, than become the instruments of despotism.

The example of desertion among the officers was set by lord Colchester, son of earl Rivers, and by lord Cornbury, son of the earl of Clarendon. The king was advancing to Salisbury, the head-quarters of his army, when he received this intelligence; yet, as the soldiers in general seemed firm in their allegiance, and the officers in a body expressed their abhorrence of such treachery, he resolved to march boldly against the inva-

50 *Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick*, vol. i. 51 *Dalrymple's Append.* 52 *Ralph.—Kennet.*

ders. But a sudden bleeding at the nose, with which he was seized, occasioned a delay of some days; and farther symptoms of defection appearing among the officers, while the prince of Orange was continuing his progress, he judged it prudent to retire toward London. Lord Churchill, afterward the great duke of Marlborough, and the duke of Grafton, natural son of Charles II., who had given their opinion for remaining at Salisbury, fled under cover of the night to the prince. Successive misfortunes poured in upon the unfortunate monarch. Trelawney, who occupied an advanced post at Warminster, deserted with other officers. Prince George of Denmark, the king's son-in-law, and the young duke of Ormond, left him at Andover. Every day diminished the number of his adherents; and, Nov. 26. to increase his accumulated misfortunes, he found at his arrival in London, that his favourite daughter, the princess of Denmark, had secretly withdrawn herself the night before, in company with lady Churchill. All his firmness of mind left him; tears started from his eyes; and he broke out into sorrowful exclamations, expressive of a deep sense of his forlorn state. "God help me!" cried he, in the agony of his heart; "my own children have forsaken me⁵³!"

Henceforth, the conduct of the infatuated James is so much marked with folly and pusillanimity, as to divest his character of all respect, and almost his sufferings of compassion. Having assembled, as a last resource, a council of peers, he issued, by their advice, writs for a new parliament; and appointed the marquis of Halifax, the earl of Nottingham, and lord Godolphin, his commissioners to treat with the prince of Orange.—Thinking the season for negotiation past, William continued to advance with his army, at the same time that he amused the commissioners. Though he knew they were friendly to his cause, he long denied them an audience. Meanwhile James, distracted by his own fears, and alarmed by the real or pretended apprehensions of others, sent the queen and his son privately into France, and embraced the extraordinary resolution of following them. He accordingly left his palace at Dec. 10. midnight, attended only by sir Edward Hales: and, in order to complete his imprudence and despair, he commanded the earl of Feversham to disband the army, recalled the writs for the meeting of the parliament, and threw the great seal into the Thames⁵⁴!

These acts of indiscretion and weakness flattered the prince of Orange with the hopes of speedy and complete success. If

⁵³ Burnet, book iv.—Memoirs of the Duke of Berwick, vol. i.

⁵⁴ Burnet.—Echard

James had deliberately resolved to place William on the throne, he could scarcely have taken measures more conducive to that end. To prevent the anarchy and disorder which might enure from this extraordinary abdication, such of the peers as were then in London assembled in Guildhall; and erecting themselves into a supreme council, executed all the functions of royalty.—They gave directions to the mayor and aldermen for keeping the peace of the city: they issued their commands, which were readily obeyed⁵⁵, to the fleet, to the neglected army of James, and to the garrisons. They ordered the militia to be raised; and they published a declaration, by which they unanimously resolved to apply to the prince of Orange to settle the affairs of the nation, deserted by the king through the influence of his evil counsellors.

William was not backward in assuming that authority, which the imprudence of James had devolved upon him. He exercised various acts of sovereignty; and, to make his presence more welcome in London, he is said to have propagated a report, that the disbanded Irish had taken arms, and commenced a general massacre of the Protestants. Such a rumour at least, prevailed for a time, and begot universal consternation. The alarm-bells were rung, the beacons fired; and men fancied they saw at a distance the smoke of the burning cities, and heard the dying groans of those who were slaughtered by the enemies of their religion⁵⁶! Nothing less than the approach of the Prince of Orange and his Protestant army, it was thought, could save the capital from ruin.

William had reached Windsor, when he was informed that the king had been seized in disguise, by some fishermen, near Feversham in Kent. This intelligence threw all parties into confusion. The prince sent orders to James, not to approach nearer to London than Rochester. But the messenger missed him on the way, and he once more entered his capital amid the loudest acclamations of joy. The people forgot his misconduct in his misfortunes, and all orders of men seemed to welcome his return⁵⁷.

This, however, was only a transient gleam before a new storm. The king was awakened in the night by some noblemen who brought a message from the prince, desiring him to remove to Ham; and, as the Dutch guards had previously taken possession of his palace, and displaced the English, he retired in the morning, intimidated and desponding. Although he was convinced, that he could not do a more acceptable ser-

55 Account of the Revolution, by John duke of Buckingham.

56 Hist. of the Desertion, p. 91.

57 Memoirs of James.

vice to his rival, and that he had under rated the loyalty of his subjects, he still resolved to make his escape to France⁵⁸.

The earls of Arran, Dunbarton, Aylesbury, Litchfield, and Middleton, the gallant lord Dundee, and other officers of distinction, argued strenuously against this resolution. They represented to the king, that the opinions of mankind began already to change, and that events would daily rise in favour of his authority. "The question, sir," urged Dundee, with all his generous ardour, "is whether you will stay in England, or fly to France? Whether you shall trust the returning zeal of your native subjects, or rely on a foreign power? Here you ought to stand. Keep possession of a part, and the whole will submit by degrees. Resume the spirit of a king; summon your subjects to their allegiance: your army, though disbanded, is not annihilated. Give me your commission, and I will collect ten thousand of your soldiers: I will carry your standard at their head through England, and drive before you the Dutch and their prince." James replied, that he believed it might be done, but that it would occasion a civil war; and he would not do so much mischief to a people who would soon return to their senses. Middleton, who saw the fallacy of this opinion, pressed him to stay, though in the remotest part of his kingdom. "Your majesty," said he, "may throw things into confusion by your departure; but it will be only the anarchy of a month; a new government will soon be settled; and then you and your family are ruined for ever⁵⁹."

But these animated remonstrances could not inspire with new firmness a mind broken by apprehension and terror. Afraid of being taken off either by poison or assassination⁶⁰, and mortified at his present abject condition, James continued to meditate his escape; and as the back-door of the house in which he lodged at Rochester was intentionally left without any guard, he found no
Dec. 23. difficulty in accomplishing his design. He privately withdrew at midnight, accompanied by the duke of Berwick, and went on board a large sloop which waited for him in the river Medway. After some obstructions, he safely arrived at Ambleteuse, in Picardy, whence he hastened to St. Germain's, where the queen and the prince of Wales had already arrived⁶¹.

Thus, my dear Philip, ended the reign of James II.; a prince not destitute of virtue or abilities, but who, as you have seen, was so enslaved by the Romish superstition, and blinded with the love of arbitrary power, that he obstinately violated the civil and religious constitution of his country; and was, therefore, justly deprived of the throne. Who had a right to fill that

⁵⁸ *Memoirs of James.*—Kennet.

⁶⁰ *Memoirs of James.*

⁵⁹ *Macpherson's Original Papers*, 1688.

⁶¹ *Memoirs of James and the duke of Berwick.*

throne? is a question which we shall afterward have occasion to discuss. In the mean time, I must take notice of the progress of the prince of Orange; observing by the way, that whatever restraints might have been imposed on the regal authority which had been abused, only the king's desertion of his people, though he was in some measure deserted by them, could have occasioned the loss of his crown, or have changed the line of succession.

The same day that James left Whitehall, William arrived at St. James's. It happened to rain very heavily, and yet great numbers came to see him. But, after they had stayed long in the wet, he disappointed them. Being an enemy to show and parade, perhaps from a consciousness of his ungraceful figure, and dead to the voice of popular joy, he went through the park to the palace. Even this trifling incident contributed to alter the sentiments of the people, and, being now cool, they judged more impartially. They considered it as cruel and unnatural for the prince of Orange to rouse his father-in-law out of his sleep, and force him from his own palace, when he was ready to submit to every thing: they began even to suspect that this *specious undertaking* would prove to be only a *disguised and designed usurpation*. The public bodies, however, waited upon the prince, and expressed their zeal for his cause; and, among others, the gentlemen of the law, with old serjeant Maynard at their head; who, when William took notice of his great age, and said he must have outlived all the lawyers of his time, wittily replied, "I should have outlived the law itself, if your highness had not come over⁶²!"

The only thing that now remained for all parties was the settlement of the kingdom. With this view, the peers met in their own house, and deliberated on the prince's declaration. In the course of debate it was urged, that the king, by withdrawing, had divested himself of his authority, and that government itself had suffered a demise in law⁶³. A free parliament was, therefore, declared to be the only means of obtaining a legal settlement; and the result of the whole was, that an address should be presented to the prince, desiring him to assume the administration of affairs, and to summon a convention. The offer was too alluring to be rejected; but William, cautious in all his proceedings, judged it necessary to strengthen the resolution of the lords with the authority of the commons. For that purpose, a judicious expedient was adopted. All the members of the three last parliaments, who were in London, were invited to meet, together with the lord-mayor, court of aldermen, and fifty members of the common-council. This mixed assembly, which was regarded as the most equal representation of the people that

62 Burnet book iv.

63 Clarendon's Diary, Dec. 1688.

could be obtained in the present emergency, unanimously voted an address, the same in substance with that of the lords; and the prince, supported by so respectable a part of the nation, despatched circular letters to all parts of England and Wales, for an election of representatives of the counties, cities, and boroughs⁶⁴.

While the Revolution thus approached to maturity in England, the people of Scotland were not idle spectators. The presbyterians, in that kingdom, who had long been persecuted and oppressed, composed the bulk of the nation; and as the prince of Orange was of their persuasion, the most fervent prayers were offered up for his success, as soon as his designs were known. He had undertaken to deliver Scotland as well as England: and, in order to facilitate his views, the popular party, on receiving his declaration, dissolved the few regular troops that remained in the kingdom, and assumed the reins of government. Thirty noblemen, and about eighty gentlemen, repaired to London; and forming themselves into a kind of convention, requested the prince to take into his hands the administration of Scotland. He thanked them for the trust they had reposed in him, and summoned a general convention to meet at Edinburgh. This assembly being regarded as illegal by the more zealous royalists, they took little share in the elections; so that the popular party or the Whigs, were returned for most places. The proceedings of the members of the Scottish convention were accordingly bold and decisive. They ordered by proclamation, all persons between the ages of sixteen and sixty to be ready to take arms: they gave the command of the militia to sir Patrick Hume, one of their most active leaders: they raised eight hundred men for a guard, under the earl of Leven; they empowered the duke of Hamilton, their president, to secure all disaffected and suspected persons; and without amusing themselves with nice distinctions, and the latent meaning of the words, they resolved, "That king James, by mal-administration, and by his abuse of power, had *forfeited* his *right* to the crown." They therefore declared the throne *vacant*, and invited the prince and princess of Orange to take possession of it, though not without due attention to their civil and religious rights⁶⁵.

In the mean time, the English convention had met; and after a long debate, the commons voted without a division, that king James II., having endeavoured to subvert the constitution, by breaking the *original contract* between *king* and *people*; and having violated the fundamental laws, and withdrawn himself from the kingdom; had *abdicated* the government; and that the throne

⁶⁴ Burnet, ubi sup.—Ralph.

⁶⁵ Minutes of the Convention, by lord Balcarras.—Burnet, book iv. v.

had thus become *vacant*⁶⁶. This memorable resolution being communicated to the peers, warm debates ensued. The most curious discussion was, whether any original contract subsisted between the king and the people; a question more fit for the schools than a national assembly, but which the vote of the commons had rendered necessary. Arguments may surely be produced from reason, to prove a kind of tacit compact between the sovereign and the subject; but a regular agreement of this kind has seldom had existence. The English national charters, however, seemed to realise such a compact; and these charters had all been recognised and confirmed by the Bill of Rights, a solemn transaction between Charles I., the nobles, and the representatives of the people. The majority of the lords, therefore, declared for an original contract; and it was also the general opinion of the assembly, that James had *broken* that *contract*⁶⁷.

The opposition, however, did not end here. The lords proceeded to take into consideration the word *abdicated*, contained in the vote of the commons; and, after some debate, agreed that *deserted* was more proper. They debated the question of vacancy with great warmth: and on a division, a majority of eleven voices pronounced against it. To settle the controversy which thus arose, a free conference was appointed between the two houses.

Never perhaps was there a national debate of greater importance, or managed by more able speakers. The leaders of the commons contended, that although the word *deserted* might be more significant and intelligible, as applied to the king's withdrawing himself, it could not, with any propriety, be extended to his violation of the fundamental laws. The managers for the lords, changing their ground, insisted, that even if the king's abuse of power should be admitted to be equivalent to an abdication, it could not operate otherwise than his voluntary resignation or natural death, and could only make way for the next heir; who, though they did not name him, they insinuated, being yet an infant in the cradle, could have committed no crime: and no just reason, they thought, could be assigned, why, without any default of his own, he should lose a crown to which he was entitled by his birth. The leaders of the commons replied, that the oath of allegiance, which binds the subject to the heirs of the king as well as to himself, regarded only a natural demise, and that there was no provision in law for a civil demise, which seemed equivalent to an attainder; that although upon the death of a king, whose administration had been agreeable to the laws, the public would endure many and great inconveniences, rather

⁶⁶ Journals of the Commons, Jan. 28, 1689.

⁶⁷ Journals of the Lords, Jan. 30.

than exclude the lineal successor ; yet when, as in the present case, the people on the principle of self-preservation, had been obliged to have recourse to arms, in order to dethrone a prince who had violated the constitution, the government reverted, in some measure, to its first principles, and the community acquired a right of providing for the public welfare by the most rational expedients.

The members of the convention might surely establish a new precedent, as well as their ancestors. Never could a more fair representation of the people be obtained ; and the people, it must be allowed, though they cannot deliberate in a body, have a right, on every resolution, and whenever their constitutional liberties are invaded, to choose their own governors, as well as the form of government under which they desire to live, unless the monstrous doctrine of *MANY* made for *ONE* should be revived. The two houses, however, parted without coming to any conclusion ; but as it was impossible for the nation to remain long in its present state, the majority of the peers, in consequence of the desertion of some Tories to the Whig party, at last agreed to pass the vote of the commons, without any alteration or amendment⁶⁸.

This grand point being settled, the next question was, “ Who should fill the vacant throne ? ” The marquis of Halifax, in order to recommend himself to the future sovereign, moved that the crown should be immediately conferred upon the prince of Orange. The earl of Danby, his political rival, proposed to confer it solely on the princess ; while the Tories contended for a regency⁶⁹. William, who had hitherto behaved with great moderation and magnanimity, avoiding all interference in the debates of either house, and disdaining to court those members whose influence might be useful to him, now perceiving that he was likely to lose the great object of his ambition, broke through that mysterious reserve, and seeming apathy, in which he had been so long wrapped. He sent for Halifax, Shrewsbury, Danby, and other leading men, and told them, that he had heard some were inclined to place the government in the hands of a regent. He would not, he said, oppose the measure ; but he thought it necessary to inform them, that he would not be *THAT* regent. Others, he added, seemed disposed to place the princess

68 Journals of the Lords, Feb. 6.

69 During all the debates it seems extraordinary, that no inquiry was made concerning the birth of the prince of Wales, particularly as such an inquiry had been expressly mentioned by the prince of Orange in his Declaration. The reasons assigned by Burnet for this neglect, though plausible, are by no means conclusive. (Hist. Own Times, book iv.) The only substantial reason for such omission seems to be, that the Whigs, finding it impracticable to prove an imposture even by presumptive evidence, judged it prudent to let the matter rest in obscurity.

singly on the throne, and suffer him to reign by her courtesy. This he also declined; protesting that he could not accept an authority, which should depend on the will or the life of another; that no man could esteem a woman more than he did the princess Mary, but he could not "think of holding any thing by apron-strings;" and therefore, if they would not make a different settlement, he would return to Holland, and concern himself no more in their affairs⁷⁰.

This threat, though not supposed to be altogether sincere, had its weight. Both houses voted, that the prince and princess of Orange should be declared king and queen of England; and a bill was brought in for that purpose. In this bill, or act of settlement, it was ordained, that the prince and princess should enjoy the crown of England during their natural lives and the life of the survivor, the sole administration being in the prince; that, after the death of both, the throne should be filled by the heirs of the body of the princess; and that, in default of such issue, Anne, princess of Denmark, and the heirs of her body, should succeed, before those of the prince of Orange, by any other wife than Mary⁷¹. Besides regulating the line of succession, the statute provided against the return of those grievances, which had driven the nation to the present extremity; and, although it ought to have been more full on this head, it declared, and seemed effectually to secure from the future encroachments of the sovereign, the most essential rights of the subject.

Thus, my dear Philip, was happily terminated the great struggle between privilege and prerogative, between the people and the crown; which commenced, as you have seen, with the accession of the family of Stuart to the throne of England, and continued till their exclusion, when almost a century had elapsed. The revolution forms a grand æra in the English constitution. By producing the decision of many important questions in favour of liberty, and yet more by the memorable precedent of deposing one king and establishing another, with a new line of succession, it gave such an ascendancy to popular principles, as to put the nature of our government beyond all controversy. A king of England, or of Britain, to use the words of lord Bolingbroke, is now strictly and properly what a king should be; a member, but the supreme member or head, of a political body; distinct from it, or independent of it, in no respect. He can no longer move in a different orbit from his people, and

⁷⁰ Burnet, book iv.

⁷¹ Journals of the Lords, Feb. 7, 1689. In this act was inserted a clause, disabling all papists, or such as should marry papists, from succeeding to the crown; and another was introduced, absolving the subjects, in that case, from their allegiance.

like some superior planet, attract, repel, and direct their motions by his own. He and they are parts of the same system, intimately joined, and co-operating together; acting and acted upon, limiting and limited, controlling and controlled by, one another; and when he ceases to stand in this relation to them, he ceases to stand in any. The settlements, by virtue of which he governs, are plainly *original contracts*: his institution is plainly *conditional*; and he may forfeit his right to *allegiance*, as undeniably and effectually, as the subject his right to *protection*⁷².

But these advantages, so much and so deservedly praised, and which can never be too highly valued, serve at present only to convince us of the imperfection of all human institutions.— Happily poised as our government is, and although the people of this island have enjoyed, since the revolution, the most perfect system of liberty ever known among mankind, the spirit of patriotism (which, as it gave birth to that system, can alone preserve it entire) has continued to decline; and the freedom, though not the form of our constitution, is now exposed to as much danger from the enslaving *influence* of the crown, as ever it was from the invasions of prerogative or the violence of arbitrary power. The nature of this influence, and the mode of its operation, as well as its rise and progress, I shall afterwards have occasion to explain.

We should now return to the affairs of the continent; but, for the sake of perspicuity, it will be proper first to relate the efforts of James for the recovery of his throne.

72 Dissertation on Parties, Let. ix.

LETTER XVII.

History of Great Britain and Ireland, from the Revolution in 1688, to the Assassination Plot in 1696.

THOUGH the revolution, as we have already seen, my dear Philip, was brought about by a coalition of parties, not by a faction; though Whig and Tory, united by the tyrannical proceedings of James, contributed with their joints efforts to that event, the most glorious in the annals of liberty; yet this union was but the union of a day. No sooner were the Tories freed from the terror of arbitrary power, than their high monarchical

principles began to return. It was the prevalence of these principles in the English convention that occasioned those warm disputes in regard to the vacancy of the throne and the original contract, which, but for the firmness of the Whigs and the spirit of the prince of Orange, would have rendered the great work of reform very imperfect.

Though indisposed, as a body, to the restoration of James, the Tories, enslaved by their political prejudices, were startled at the idea of breaking the line of succession. Hence the ridiculous proposal of a regency. And a party, since properly distinguished by the reproachful appellation of *Jacobites*, secretly lurked among the Tories; a party, who, from their attachment to the person or the family of the dethroned monarch, and an adherence to the monstrous doctrines of passive obedience, and of divine, indefeasible, hereditary right, wished to bring back the king, and invariably held, that none but a STUART could justly be invested with the regal authority. Of this opinion were all the bigoted high churchmen and Catholics in the three kingdoms. Among the Whigs, or moderate churchmen and dissenters in like manner, lurked many enthusiastic republicans, who hoped, in the national ferment, to effect a dissolution of monarchy.

The contest between these parties, fomented by the ambitious views of individuals, which long distracted the English government, and is not yet fully composed, began immediately after the revolution, and threatened the sudden subversion of the new establishment. The silent reserved temper, and solitary disposition of William, early disgusted the citizens of London¹; and the more violent Tories, who had lost all the merit which their party might otherwise have claimed with the king, by opposing the change in the succession, were enraged at seeing the current of court favour run chiefly toward the Whigs. The hope of retaining this favour, and with it the principal offices of the state (of which they had been so long in possession, and to which they thought themselves entitled by the antiquity of their families, and their superiority in landed property,) was probably their leading motive for concurring in a revolution which they were sensible they could not prevent. But, whatever their motives might be for such co-operation, they had justly forfeited all title to royal favour, by their subsequent conduct, not only in the estimation of William, but of all the zealous lovers of their country. They reverted to ancient prejudices and narrow principles, at a crisis when the nation was ready to embrace the most enlarged way of thinking, with respect both to religion and government.

The clergy were displeased at the general toleration which William, soon after his accession, very prudently as well as liberally, granted to all his Protestant subjects : and still more at an attempt which he made toward a comprehension in England ; while the whole episcopal body in Scotland took part with the Jacobites, in consequence of the re-establishment of the presbyterian religion in that kingdom. This establishment, the Scottish convention, which consisted chiefly of presbyterians, had demanded. They connected it intimately with the settlement of the crown² ; and this instance of their spirit deserves to be admired. But William had little to fear from that quarter. The presbyterians, who composed about three-fourths of the inhabitants of Scotland, were not only able to defend the new settlement, but willing to do it at the hazard of their lives. The state of Ireland was very different.

The great body of the people in that kingdom were Catholics. The earl of Tyrconnel, a violent papist, was lord-lieutenant ; and all employments, civil and military, were in the hands of the same sect. Yet this man, who had induced the infatuated James, by working on his civil and religious prejudices, to invade the privileges of the Irish corporations, in the same manner as those of England had been attacked by Charles II.—and who, under the plausible pretence of relieving some distressed and really injured papists, had prepared a bill for destroying the settlement framed at the Restoration, which would have given to the crown the disposal of the greater part of the landed property of Ireland—this apparently zealous Catholic, and piously loyal subject, is said to have traitorously made an offer of his government to the prince of Orange³ ; and William is said to have politically refused it, that he might have a decent pretext for keeping up an army, in order to secure the obedience of England, and might be enabled, by Irish forfeitures, to gratify his English and foreign favourites⁴ !

But one who lived at the time, who was no friend to William, and who had every opportunity of knowing the character and examining the administration of Tyrconnel, declares that his *firmness* preserved Ireland in the interest of James, and that he *nobly* rejected all the *advantageous offers* which were made to induce him to submit to the prince of Orange⁵ : and from the tenor of his conduct, as well as the testimony of other contemporary writers, we may consider his proposals to the prince as only intended to gain time, that he might be enabled to put his government in a better state of defence, and procure assistance from

² Burnet, *ubi sup.*

³ Dalrymple's Appendix.

⁴ Macpherson's Hist of Brit. vol. i.

⁵ Memoirs of the duke of Berwick, vol. i.

France⁶. William, though somewhat suspicious of his sincerity, did not slight the advances of the lord-lieutenant: he despatched general Hamilton, his countryman and friend, to treat with him. Hamilton betrayed his trust⁷: Tyrconnel, in conformity with his real views, levied a great number of men, who, having no regular pay, were left to live on the plunder of the Protestants; and these unhappy people, roused by oppression, and fearing a general massacre, flew to arms, and throwing themselves into Londonderry, Enniskillen, and other places of strength, hoped to be able to hold out till they should obtain relief from England⁸.

In the mean time James, who had been received with marks of the most cordial affection by Louis XIV., either from a sympathy of religious sentiments, or with a view of making him subservient to his ambition, was preparing to make a descent in Ireland. Pressed by the solicitations, and encouraged by the favourable representations of Tyrconnel, he embarked at Brest with twelve hundred of his native subjects, one hundred French officers, and some gentlemen of distinction, and landed at Kinsale. Seven batta- March 12.
lions of French troops were afterwards sent over⁹. But these, and all his Irish forces, were by no means sufficient to oppose the veteran army of William.

James and his adherents, however, had other ideas of the matter. Elated at the presence of a prince, who had lost two kingdoms from his predilection for their religion, the Irish Catholics received him with the highest demonstrations of joy.

6 In reasoning so circumstantially on this subject, I am less influenced by a desire of vindicating the conduct of William or of Tyrconnel, than of showing the insufficiency of those *original papers*, which have been so liberally produced of late years, to alter our opinion of the established characters of men: for, as, in the present case, the earl's *offer to negotiate* with William is no *proof* of his being a *traitor* to James; so, in most other cases, our ignorance of the motives of the parties ought to make us suspend our judgment of such doubtful or suspicious evidence. At any rate, these *abortive intrigues*, and insidious anecdotes, which have been brought as a charge against so many otherwise unsullied reputations, are more fit for the chronicle of scandal, or the memoirs of individuals, than the page of general history, which they can serve only to contaminate and perplex. Little farther attention shall therefore, be paid to them in the body of this work; which has chiefly for its object *important events*, with their causes and consequences.

To throw a shade over the brightest characters, cannot surely be a desirable employment for a liberal mind; yet some men of talents have undertaken this invidious task, and prosecuted it with unwearied industry. They who love to contemplate human nature on the dark side, will find sufficient food for their passion in Dalrymple's Appendix and Macpherson's Original Papers. Happily, however, these papers, contrary to the apparent purpose of the compilers, furnish arguments for the advocates of freedom, as well as the abettors of despotism. I have accordingly used them as a counter-poison.

7 This treachery was attended with a very striking circumstance. Sir William Temple's son, who was secretary at war to King William, having engaged himself for the fidelity of Hamilton, was so mortified at his defection, that he put an end to his own life, by leaping out of a boat into the Thames. Clarendon's Diary.

8 King's State of the Protestants in Ireland.—Burnet.

9 Mem. of the duke of Berwick, vol. i.

But this rage of loyalty, by involving him in measures subversive not only of the Protestant interest, but of all the laws of justice and humanity, disgraced his character, and proved highly injurious to his cause. A parliament in which he presided, consisting chiefly of Catholics, passed a bill for repealing that act of settlement by which the Protestants had been secured in the possession of their estates; and, by another act, all Protestants who were absent from the kingdom, who did not acknowledge the authority of king James, or who had been in any way connected with rebels from the first day of August in the preceding year, were declared guilty of high treason. The number of Protestants of both sexes attainted by name in this act, nearly amounted to two thousand five hundred. A bill was also enacted for releasing Ireland from all dependence on the English legislature¹⁰.

While James was thus attempting to establish his authority in Ireland, by flattering the prejudices of the natives, William was engaged in managing the English parliament, and in conducting that great system of continental policy, of which he had been so long the centre. To both these ends the violence of the Irish Catholics, their influence with the dethroned monarch, and his throwing himself into their hands, contributed not a little; and William, still farther to quiet and unite the minds of men, as well as to promote his own views, recommended to the parliament an act of general indemnity, and procured an address for a declaration of war against France. Both proposals were readily embraced. Inflamed with ancient and hereditary hate, and roused by recent jealousy, the English nation had long been desirous of turning its arms against Louis; and the supposed attachment of James to the French interest, his bigotry not excepted, had been the principal cause of his ruin. Had he acceded to the league of Augsberg, he would never have lost his crown. Threatened by that league, and willing to strike the first blow, Louis had sent an army into the Palatinate, and made himself master of Philipsburg in 1688. This violence, which was immediately succeeded by others, alarmed the emperor, Spain, Holland, and all the confederate powers of the continent. They saw the necessity of having immediate recourse to arms; and the interposition of France in the affairs of Ireland furnished William with a good pretence for throwing the whole weight of England into the hostile scale. The confederacy was now complete.

But the critical state of his new dominions called off the attention of William, for a time, from the continental system. The

10 Burnet.—King.

duke of Gordon still held out the castle of Edinburgh for James; and the viscount Dundee, the soul of the Jacobite party in Scotland, having collected a small but gallant army of Highlanders, threatened with subjection the whole northern part of the kingdom. Dundee, who had publicly disavowed the authority of the Scottish convention, had been declared an outlaw by that assembly; and general Mackay was sent against him with a body of regular troops. The castle of Blair being occupied by the adherents of James, Mackay resolved to attempt its reduction. The viscount, apprised of the design of his antagonist, summoned up all his enterprising spirit, and by forced marches arrived at Athol before him. He was soon informed that Mackay's vanguard had cleared the pass of Killicranky; a narrow defile, formed by the steep sides of the Grampian hills, and a dark, rapid, and deep river. Though chagrined at this intelligence, he was not disconcerted. He despatched sir Alexander Maclean to attack the enemy's advanced party, while he himself should approach with the main body of the Highlanders. But before Maclean had proceeded a mile, Dundee received information that Mackay had marched through the pass with his whole army. He commanded Maclean to halt, and boldly advanced with his faithful band to give battle to the enemy.

The commander of William's forces, which consisted of four thousand five hundred foot and two troops of horse, had made dispositions for battle, when Dundee came in view. July 16. The viscount's brave but undisciplined followers did not exceed three thousand three hundred men. These he instantly ranged in hostile array. They stood inactive for several hours in sight of the enemy, on the steep side of a hill, which faced the narrow plain where Mackay had formed his line, neither party choosing to change its ground. But the signal for battle was no sooner given, than the Highlanders rushed down the hill in deep columns; and having discharged their muskets with effect, they had recourse to the broad-sword, their proper weapon, with which they furiously attacked the enemy. Mackay's left wing was instantly broken, and driven from the field with great slaughter by the Macleans, who formed the right of Dundee's army. The Macdonalds, who composed his left, were not equally successful: colonel Hastings' regiment of English foot repelled their most vigorous efforts, and obliged them to retreat. But Maclean and Cameron, at the head of part of their respective clans, suddenly assailed this gallant regiment in flank, and put it to the rout. Two thousand of Mackay's army were slain; and his artillery, baggage, ammunition, provisions, and even king William's Dutch standard, fell into the hands of

the Highlanders. But their joy, like a smile upon the cheek of death, delusive and insincere, was of short duration. Dundee was mortally wounded by a musket-shot as he was pursuing the fugitives: he expired soon after his victory; and with him perished the hopes of James in Scotland. The castle of Edinburgh had already surrendered to the convention; and the Highlanders, discouraged by the loss of a leader whom they loved and almost adored, gradually dispersed themselves, and returned to their savage mountains, to bewail him in their songs¹¹. His memory is still dear to them; he is considered as the last of their heroes; and his name, even to this day, is seldom mentioned among them without a sigh or a tear¹². He appears indeed to have been a very extraordinary man. Beside great knowledge of the military art, the talent of seizing advantages, and the most perfect recollection in battle, he possessed in no common degree, that distinguishing feature of the heroic character, the power of influencing the opinions of others, and of inspiring them with his own ardour.

Fortune did not prove more favourable to the affairs of James in Ireland. His most important enterprise was the siege of Londonderry. He presented himself before that town with a considerable army, commanded by the mareschal de Rosen, de Maumont, general Hamilton, the duke of Berwick, and other officers of distinction. But so bold was the spirit of the inhabitants, that, instead of tamely surrendering, they gallantly repelled all attempts to reduce the place, and even annoyed the besiegers with their sallies. At length, however, weakened and distressed by famine, and diminished in number by pestilence, its too common attendant, they were almost reduced to despair. To complete their depression, de Rosen, in the absence of James, collected all the Protestants in the neighbouring country, to the number of four or five thousand, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, and cruelly placed them between his lines and the walls of the town; where many of them were suffered to perish with hunger, from a persuasion that the besieged would either relieve their friends or surrender the place. But this barbarous expedient had no such effect: it served only to confirm the inhabitants in their resolution of holding out to the last man. Happily, before their perseverance utterly failed, a reinforcement arrived from England, with ammunition and provisions, and the besiegers thought proper to abandon the undertaking¹³.

¹¹ MS. Accounts in Dalrymple and Macpherson. Those of Macpherson are chiefly followed in this narration.

¹² Macpherson.

¹³ King.—Burnet.—Memoirs of the duke of Berwick and of James II.

The difficulties of James now crowded fast upon him. Soon after the failure of this enterprise, the maréchal, created duke Schomberg, landed in Ireland with ten thousand men. But the impracticable nature of the country, his unacquaintance with it, and the declining season, prevented that able and experienced general from making any progress before the close of the campaign. In the next spring, however, A. D. 1690. though his troops had suffered greatly by disease, he gained some advantages over the Catholics; and William, in order to quicken his operations, and put at once an end to the war, repaired to Ireland with a fresh army.

James, on this occasion, embraced a resolution which has been considered as rash, but was worthy of a sovereign contending for his lost kingdom. Though his army was inferior, in number as well as in discipline, to that of his rival, he determined to put all to the hazard of a battle. He accordingly took post on the southern bank of the Boyne, and extended his troops in two lines, opposed to the deep and dangerous fords of that river. No position could be more advantageous. A morass defended him on the left, and in his rear lay the village of Dunore, where he had entrenched a body of troops. But all these circumstances, so favourable to James, did not discourage William from seeking an engagement. When he had reconnoitred the situation of the enemy, he resolved, contrary to the advice of Schomberg, to attack them without delay, though under no necessity of running such a risque. His army July 1. accordingly passed the river in three divisions, one of which he headed in person. Schomberg, who led another, was killed soon after he had reached the opposite bank, but not before he had broken the Catholic infantry. The Irish cavalry, commanded by general Hamilton and the duke of Berwick, behaved with greater spirit than the foot, but were at last obliged to yield to superior force. General Hamilton was made prisoner; and James, who had shown some courage, but no conduct, retired to Dublin, under the protection of the French auxiliaries, who had not been put into disorder. His loss did not exceed fifteen hundred men; yet was the victory complete, as a great number of the Irish deserted their officers during the following night, and returned to their several homes¹⁴.

The subsequent conduct of James was more blameable than either his precipitancy in hazarding a battle, or his behaviour during the engagement, if we allow both to be deserving of censure. No sooner was he informed of the dispersion of his army than he despondingly gave up Ireland as lost; and leaving the

¹⁴ Ralph.—King.—Duke of Berwick.—James II.

inhabitants of Dublin to make their own conditions with the victorious prince, he embarked for France, though he had many resources left. By bravely collecting his scattered, but not annihilated force, and drawing troops from his different garrisons, independent of new levies, he might have appeared in the field more formidable than ever ; whereas his pusillanimous flight, by disheartening his friends, and encouraging his enemies, left but a melancholy prospect to his generals.

But these new resources, and the consequences of neglecting them, did not occur to a mind harassed and dejected by misfortune. Besides, the fugitive monarch tells us, that he had hopes of being able to recover the English crown by means of an armament from France, during the absence of William and his veteran troops. These hopes, however, suddenly disappeared ; though, on his arrival at Brest, the prospect seemed to brighten. He was there informed, that the French navy had gained a signal victory over the combined fleet of England and Holland, commanded by the earl of Torrington and admiral Evertzen, and that Tourville was riding triumphant in the Channel. All this was nearly true ; and a descent in England, in favour of James, might certainly have been made to great advantage, while it was in the power of the French fleet to have prevented the return of William. But the flight of that unfortunate prince from Ireland had so discouraging an aspect, and Louis gave so little credit to the perpetual rumours of insurrections and discontents in England, that he was resolved not to risque an army in such an enterprise. He, therefore, turned a deaf ear to all James's proposals for an invasion. He even refused him a small supply of ammunition for the remains of the army in Ireland, saying, that whatever should be sent thither would be so much lost¹⁵. As a proof of his sincerity, he despatched transports to bring off his own troops. And James, labouring under the deepest mortification and self-condemnation, was made severely sensible, when too late, that a prince, who deserts his own cause, will soon see it deserted by the world.

The Irish, however, though abandoned by their king and his grand ally, did not resign themselves to despondence, or attempt by submissions to conciliate the clemency of their invaders. Seeming ashamed of their misbehaviour at the passage of the Boyne (for it scarcely deserves the name of a battle), and anxious to vindicate their reputation, they every where made a gallant resistance ; a circumstance which contributed not a little to aggravate the tormenting reflections of James, by convincing him, that his adverse fortune was more to be as-

15 James II. 1690.

scribed to his own imprudence than to the disloyalty of his subjects, or their want of zeal in his service.

After visiting Dublin, William advanced with his whole army to invest Limerick, into which the remains of James's infantry had thrown themselves, whilst the cavalry, under the command of Berwick and Tyrconnel, kept the field, in order to convey supplies to the garrison. Limerick is situated on the Shannon, where that river is broad, deep, and rapid. Part of the town stands on the Munster side, part on an island in the Shannon, and the castle on the side of Clare. These three divisions were united by two bridges. William, not daring to cross the Shannon in the face of the enemy's cavalry, invested Limerick only on the south side; so that it was in no danger of being distressed for want of provisions. Aware of this disadvantage, he attempted to carry the place by storm, after having made a practicable breach in the walls. But although ten thousand men, by a kind of surprise, made their way into the town, the Irish charged them with such fury in the streets, that they were driven out with great slaughter¹⁶. Chagrined August 30. at his failure in this assault, William raised the siege in disgust, and returned soon after to England¹⁷.

But this repulse, though inglorious to the British monarch, afforded short relief to the adherents of the dethroned prince. Lord Churchill, created earl of Marlborough, who may justly be denominated the evil genius of James, arrived in Ireland with five thousand men. More active and enterprising than William, and even, perhaps, already more deeply skilled in the whole machinery of war, he quickly reduced Cork and Kinsale, though the latter made a spirited defence; and having put his army into winter-quarters, returned to England covered with glory¹⁸.

Ireland, however, was not yet subdued. Athlone, Galway, and other places, still held out. Athlone was invested by baron Ginckel, who commanded the forces A. D. 1691. of the new king; and, though strongly garrisoned, it was carried by a very bold assault, to the great surprise and mortification of St. Ruth, who commanded the Irish army, and whom Louis had sent over for that purpose at the request of James. Ashamed of that negligence which had suffered the assailants to be so successful, the Catholic general was determined to hazard a battle, and recover his reputation, or lose the kingdom and his life in the attempt. He accordingly took post at Aghrim, where he waited the approach of Ginckel. An engagement en-

¹⁶ Mem. of the duke of Berwick, vol. i.

¹⁷ "He gave out, through Europe," says the duke of Berwick, "that continual rains had been the cause of his abandoning the enterprise; but I can affirm that not a drop of rain fell for above a month before, or for three weeks after." Mem. vol. i.

¹⁸ Ralph.—King.—Duke of Berwick.

sued, in which the fortune of the day remained long doubtful, but at last declared against St. Ruth. He was killed by a cannon-ball, in bringing forward his body of reserve, and his troops were totally routed¹⁹.

The remains of the Irish forces, and the garrison of Galway, took refuge in Limerick, which was a second time besieged by a great army; and Tyrconnel being dead, the duke of Berwick recalled, and the impossibility of supporting the war evident, the place capitulated, after a siege of about six weeks, and all Ireland submitted to the arms of William²⁰. The terms were highly favourable, not only to the defenders of Limerick, but to all their countrymen in arms. It was agreed that they should receive a general pardon: that their estates should be restored, their attainders annulled, and their outlawries reversed: that the Catholics should enjoy the same toleration, with respect to religion, as in the reign of Charles II.; that they should be restored to all the privileges of subjects, on merely taking the oaths of allegiance; and that such as chose to follow the fortunes of James, should be conveyed to the continent at the expense of government²¹.

About ten thousand men took advantage of the last article, and were regimented by the deposed monarch, but paid by the king of France. One of the most distinguished of these refugees was major-general Sarsfield, whom James had created earl of Lucan. He had rendered himself popular among the Catholics by his zeal for their religion, and was exalted in his own opinion, as well as in that of his countrymen, by his success in seizing a convoy on its way to the English camp before Limerick. He was, says the duke of Berwick, a man of an amazing stature, utterly void of sense, very good-natured, and very brave²².—We must now return to the affairs of England.

William, whose first care it had been to transform the convention into a parliament, was soon disgusted with that assembly, to which he owed his crown. The obligations on one side, and the claims of gratitude on the other, were indeed too great to afford any rational prospect of a lasting harmony; and other causes conspired to excite discord. The parliament, being chiefly composed of Whigs, the ever watchful guardians of liberty, refused to settle on William the revenue of the crown for life. Notwithstanding their good opinion of his principles, they were unwilling to render him independent: they therefore granted the

¹⁹ The duke of Berwick was by no means of opinion, that the "crown of Ireland depended on the opportune fall of St. Ruth." On the contrary, he was convinced that the battle was already lost, and that it was impossible for St. Ruth to have restored it with his body of reserve, which consisted only of six squadrons. Mem. vol. i.

²⁰ Burnet.—Ralph.—Duke of Berwick

²¹ Articles of Capitulation.

²² Mem. vol. i.

revenue only for one year. The Tories took advantage of this patriotic jealousy, to render their rivals odious to the king : who, although educated in a republic, was imperious and fond of power. They represented the Whigs as men who were enemies to kingly government, and whom only the circumstances of the times had thrown into the scale of monarchy. And William, who had publicly declared, that a king without a permanent revenue was no better than a pageant, and who considered so close a dependence on his subjects as altogether inconsistent with the regal authority, readily listened to such insinuations; and, in order to emancipate himself, dissolved the parliament²³.

The new parliament, in which the Tories predominated, not only settled the revenue of the crown on William for life, but granted liberal supplies for carrying on the war in Ireland, and on the continent. In those votes the Whigs concurred, that they might not seem to destroy the work of their own hands. But the heads of the party were highly dissatisfied, at seeing that favour, and those offices, to which they thought themselves entitled by their past services, bestowed chiefly upon the Tories. They entered into cabals with the Jacobites, and even held a secret correspondence with the dethroned monarch²⁴. The presbyterians in Scotland, offended at the king's reservation of patronage, or the power of presenting ministers to the vacant kirks, in the proposed establishment of their religion, also joined in the same intrigues. But William, by permitting his commissioner to agree to any law, relative to their ecclesiastical government, that should to the majority of the general assembly seem most eligible, entirely quieted their discontents; and, in some measure, disconcerted the schemes of the disgusted Whigs in England, with whom they had entered into the most intimate connexions, and who hoped to make use of the fanatical fury of the Scots, in disturbing that settlement which they had so lately founded²⁵.

The adherents of James, however, were still numerous in the North of Scotland; and William, by a dreadful example of severity, seemed determined to awe them into allegiance, or to rouse them to some desperate act of hostility, which might justify a general vengeance.

In consequence of a pacification with the Highlanders, a proclamation of indemnity had been issued to such insurgents as should take the oaths to the king and queen before the first day of January, 1692. The heads of all the clans, who had been in

23 Burnet.—Ralph.

24 Dalrymple's Append.—Mem. of James II.

25 Burnet.—Balcanraas.—Macpherson.

arms for James, strictly complied with the terms of the proclamation, except Macdonald of Glencoe; and his neglect, in suffering the time limited to elapse, was occasioned rather by accident than design. His submission was afterward received by the sheriff, though not without scruple. He then considered himself as under the protection of the laws; but ruin was ready to overtake him for his delay in tendering his allegiance. William, at the instigation of sir John Dalrymple, his secretary for Scotland, signed a warrant of military execution against Macdonald and his whole clan.—Jan. 16, 1692. And it was put in force by his countryman Campbell, of Glenlyon, with the most savage barbarity, accompanied with a breach of hospitality. Macdonald himself was shot dead with two bullets in the back part of the head, by one Lindsay, an officer whom he had entertained as his guest: his tenants were murdered by the soldiers to whom they had given free quarters: women were killed in defending their tender offspring; and boys in imploring mercy, were butchered by the officers to whose knees they clung!—Near forty persons were massacred, and many of those who escaped to the mountains perished of hunger or cold. All the houses in the valley were reduced to ashes; the cattle were driven away, and with the other moveables divided as spoil among the officers and soldiers²⁶.

This cruel massacre, which shocked all Europe, could not fail to rouse the resentment of the Jacobites in general, particularly the Highlanders; and the dissatisfied Whigs made use of it, to render odious the government of William. An insurrection, in favour of the dethroned monarch, was projected both in England and Scotland. James himself had taken all the steps, which his own prudence or the advice of his friends could suggest to render his return agreeable to his former subjects; and Louis, encouraged by favourable accounts from Britain, began seriously to think of an invasion. About twenty thousand Irish and French soldiers, under the mareschal de Bellefonde, were prepared for the expedition; and James, attended by the duke of Berwick, arrived in the camp between Cherbourg and La Hogue. Numerous transports were assembled at Brest; and every thing was ready for the intended embarkation, when the scheme was suddenly baffled²⁷.

Louis, victorious by sea as well as land, had equipped a powerful navy to support this invasion. But the Toulon squadron, consisting of thirty sail, was prevented by contrary winds from

²⁶ Inquiry into the Massacre of Glencoe.—Ralph.

²⁷ Stuart Papers, 1692.—Memoirs of the duke of Berwick, vol. i.

joining the Brest fleet. Meanwhile the alarm of an invasion had spread to England; and the earl of Marlborough, and several persons of less note, were sent to the Tower, on suspicion of holding a treasonable correspondence with the deposed prince²⁸. Russell was ordered out with the English fleet; and having formed a junction with the Dutch squadron, he directed his course for La Hogue. Near that cape, he discovered the count of Tourville; who, though sensible of the superiority of the enemy; resolved to hazard an engagement, in order to vindicate himself from an aspersion that had been thrown on his courage by M. de Seignelay, minister of the marine. He accordingly bore down in the *Royal Sun*, of one hundred and four guns, upon Russel, who was in the *Britannia*, of one hundred guns. The rest of the French fleet fell in with the English line, and a hot engagement ensued, in which the Dutch had little share. Tourville, being at length disabled, was towed off by his boats, and five fresh ships, with a furious fire, covered his retreat²⁹.

The fleets were inactive on the following day: but the French afterwards sustained very serious injury. Sir Ralph Delaval burned the *Royal Sun*, the *Admirable*, and the *Conqueror*, near Cherbourg; and Rooke destroyed thirteen ships of the line, which had sought safety by running ashore at La Hogue, together with twenty transports, laden with military stores. James, to the utter confusion of his hopes, beheld from the shore this havock, which it was not in his power to prevent³⁰.

The partisans of James in England were less discouraged than the master whom they wished to re-establish. They con-

28 The earl of Marlborough certainly held a secret correspondence with James; but that unfortunate monarch never believed him to be sincere: he suspected him of a wish to betray his sovereign a second time. Admiral Russell seems also to have entered into these intrigues; and James had no better opinion of his sincerity. He was apprehensive that Russell, as a man of republican principles, sought only to unhinge the government, and debase the crown in the person of fallen majesty.—Dalrymple and Macpherson.

But whatever opinion Russell might hold, or whatever views he might secretly entertain, his conduct proves him to have been an able and faithful servant to his country. From no feature in his character or circumstance in his life can we believe whatever may have been said by the assassins of public virtue, that he ever seriously intended to betray *that* country, and his trust as an English admiral, by carrying over the fleet under his command to the dethroned monarch, while a papist and pensioner of Louis. The ambitious and intriguing genius of Marlborough, his original treachery to James, and his long and intimate correspondence with his former master and benefactor whom he had betrayed, leave us more in the dark with respect to his ultimate designs. He appears to have had neither moral nor political principles, when they interfered with his avarice or ambition; and it seems certain that, from zeal for the service of James, or an aversion against William, he defeated, by his secret intelligence, an expedition against Brest, under admiral Russell, in 1694. *Stuart Papers*, May, 1694.—*Memoirs of James*.

29 Russell's Letter to the Earl of Nottingham, June 2, 1692.

30 "Ah!"—exclaimed that prince, with a mixture of admiration and regret, at seeing the French fleet set on fire—"none but my brave English tars could have performed so gallant an action!" *Dalrymple's Mem.*

sidered the failure of the invasion as an accident which might soon be repaired, and continued to disturb the government with their intrigues. These intrigues, the perpetual opposition between the Whigs and Tories, and the necessity of large supplies to support the war on the continent, gave rise to two great and growing evils, intimately connected with each other; the national debt, and the corruption of the house of commons. At the same time that William, by a pernicious funding system, was loading the state by borrowing large sums to maintain his continental connexions, he was liberal of the public money to his servants at home; and employed it with little ceremony, to bring over his enemies, or to procure a majority in parliament.

To repress this corruption, so far as it affected the representatives of the people, a bill was brought in for triennial parliaments; and William found himself under the necessity of passing it, or of losing a promised supply. He was beside afraid to exert the influence of the crown, in defeating a bill of so much consequence to the nation; more especially as the queen, whose death he was sensible would weaken his authority, was then indisposed³¹. A similar bill, as we have already seen, was extorted from Charles I., but was repealed in compliment to Charles II. To this imprudent compliance may be ascribed the principal disorders during that and the subsequent reign. A house of commons, elected once in three years, would have formed such a strong bulwark to liberty, as must have baffled and discouraged all the attacks of arbitrary power. The more honest and independent part of the community, therefore, zealously promoted the present law; which, while it continued in force, certainly had some effect in stemming the tide of corruption, and producing a more fair representation of the people.

The queen, as William had apprehended, died soon after the enactment of this important bill. Mary was a woman of great equality of temper, and no small share of understanding. She was a sincere Protestant; and by her exemplary piety, the purity of her manners, and even by her attention to the useful employment of her time, she contributed much to reform the court, which had been extremely licentious during the two preceding reigns. Nor was she destitute of political address; which, in the absence of her husband, she exercised in such a manner as to conciliate the affections of all parties. But here her praise must cease. She possessed few shining virtues, or elegant accomplishments. And the character of an obedient

wife, so justly her due, is shaded by the reproach of being a cruel sister, and an unfeeling daughter; who entered the palace of her father, soon after he had been forced to leave it, and ascended his throne with as much gaiety as if he had been an enemy to her existence, instead of an indulgent parent, and the fountain of her blood³².

William seemed to be greatly afflicted at the death of the queen; and, although perhaps he had little regard for her engaging person, from the coldness of his own disposition, his grief was possibly sincere. Her open and agreeable deportment, and her natural alliance to the throne, had chiefly contributed to reconcile the minds of men to his government. The Whigs could forgive her every breach of filial duty, on account of her adherence to the Protestant religion and the principles of liberty; and even the Tories were ready to ascribe her seeming want of sympathy with her father's misfortunes, to an obsequious submission to the will of her husband. With her, all natural title to the English crown expired, on the part of William; and although his authority, supported by the act of settlement, was too firmly established to be immediately shaken, the hopes of the Jacobites began daily to rise, and conspiracies were formed against his life, as the only A. D. 1695. bar to the restoration of James, and the succession of his son, the titular prince of Wales, whose legitimacy seemed now to be put beyond all question, by the queen's undisputed delivery of a daughter³³.

The most dangerous conspiracy was conducted by sir George Barclay and other violent Jacobites, and was intimately connected with a plan for an insurrection in England, and an invasion from France. The duke of Berwick was A. D. 1696. sent over to forward the insurrection. But the English nobility and gentry in the interest of James, though warmly disposed to serve him, very prudently refused to take arms until a body of troops should be landed to support them. Finding them obstinate in this resolution, and being informed of the conspiracy against the life of William, the duke immediately returned to France, that he might not be confounded with men whose atrocious purpose had no connexion with his commission; though he thought himself bound in honour, he tells us, not to dissuade them from it.

In the mean time the troops intended for the invasion were assembled at Dunkirk and Calais. Three hundred transports

³² Burnet, book iv. v.

³³ As the princess of Denmark had long carried on a secret correspondence with her father, and obtained his pardon for her undutiful conduct, it was presumed that she would not oppose his restoration, by pleading her parliamentary title to the succession.

were collected, and eighteen men of war were ready to escort them. James himself was on his way to join the army, when he was met by the duke of Berwick, after his return from England. Though he could not blame the caution of his friends, he was not a little mortified at it, as Louis had positively declared that he would not allow his troops to embark before an insurrection had actually taken place. The disconsolate prince, however, proceeded to Calais, in anxious expectation of the issue of the assassination plot; from which, though it was undertaken without his authority, he hoped to derive advantage in his present distressful circumstances. Like a drowning mariner, he caught at a slippery rope, and rested his desperate fortune on the point of a ruffian's sword. But his suspense and embarrassment were soon removed. The plot was discovered: several of the conspirators were seized and executed, and all England was thrown into a ferment. The current of public opinion was suddenly changed. Even many of those who hated the person, and disliked the government of William, were shocked at the idea of a barbarous attempt upon his life; and his throne, which seemed lately to shake to its base, now appeared to be securely established³⁴.

Admiral Russell, on the first certain intelligence of the projected invasion, was ordered to repair to the Downs. Having hoisted his flag on board the victory, he speedily collected a fleet of fifty sail, with which he appeared before Calais: and although he found it impracticable to destroy the French shipping, or greatly to injure the town, he spread terror along the coast, and convinced the enemy of the necessity of attending to their own safety, instead of ambiguously attempting to invade the territories of their neighbours.

Thus were all the hopes of James and his adherents blasted, by what the French termed his *MALIGNANT STAR*. Covered with shame and confusion, and overwhelmed with disappointment and despair, he returned to St. Germain's; where, relinquishing all thoughts of an earthly crown, he turned his views solely towards heaven. Louis, who was an accomplished gentleman as well as a magnificent king, treated the dethroned monarch, on every occasion, with great kindness and respect.—But some of the French courtiers were less polite than their sovereign. “There,” said one of them, in the hearing of

³⁴ Burnet, book v.—Duke of Berwick.—James II. Amidst all these conspiracies against his person and government, William discovered a cool courage, which does great honour to his memory. On some occasions he displayed even a generous magnanimity that claims admiration. He not only pardoned but continued in employment some of his principal servants, after making them sensible that he was acquainted with their intrigues! And he was rewarded with the fidelity which such heroic confidence deserved.

James, "is a simpleton, who has given up three kingdoms for a mass³⁵."

We shall see in the course of events, Louis himself obliged to abandon the cause of this royal refugee, and to acknowledge the right of William to his dominions.

35 Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xiv.

LETTER XVIII.

Sketch of the Military Transactions on the Continent, from the Beginning of the War that followed the League of Augsburg, to the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, and of Carlowitz in 1699.

THE emperor Leopold, who was considered as the head of the Anti-Gallican league, was an able and a powerful prince.—The decisions of his cabinet testified his policy; and, without being a warrior, he was successful in the operations of the field. But humanity and greatness of mind did not always appear in his actions and behaviour. His success in Hungary, and the change by which a crown formerly elective was declared hereditary in his family, did not take place without the effusion of much blood, both in the field and on the scaffold. He who appeared as the protector of Christendom, and the assertor of the rights of nations, was himself a tyrant and a persecutor. He was still engaged in hostilities with the Turks; but the taking of Belgrade by assault, joined to his other triumphs, enabled him to take part in the war against Louis, whose vain-glorious ambition had alarmed all Europe. Beside a jealousy for the liberties of Germany, Leopold had other motives for entering into this war. He knew that the *Most Christian king*, while persecuting his Huguenot subjects, had supported the Protestants in Hungary; had incited them to take arms in defence of those heretical opinions which he abhorred; and had even encouraged the infidels to invade the *holy Roman empire*, the great bulwark of the Christian world!

The French monarch, trusting to his great resources, prepared to repel the storm which his ambition had raised, with a vigour proportioned to the occasion. He assembled two armies in Flanders: he opposed a third to the Spaniards in Catalonia; and, to form a barrier on the side of Germany, he ravaged the Palatinate with fire and sword,

A. D. 1689.

after having made himself master of its principal towns. This barbarous policy has been severely and justly blamed; and it can never be too strongly reprobated. Men, women, and children, were driven out of their habitations, to wander about the fields, and to perish of hunger and cold; while they beheld their houses reduced to ashes, their goods seized, and their possessions pillaged by the rapacious soldiery¹. The terrible execution began at Manheim, the seat of the electors; where not only the palaces of those princes were rased to the ground, but their very tombs opened in search of hidden treasures, and their venerable dust scattered in the air. Twice, during the reign of the unfeeling Louis, was this fine country desolated by the arms of France; but the flames lighted by Turenne, however dreadful, were only like so many torches, compared with the present conflagration, which filled all Europe with horror.

Nor did that cruel expedient, so disgraceful to the character of the French monarch, answer the end proposed: it served only to increase the number and inflame the resentment of his enemies. Though he had near three hundred and fifty thousand men in the field, he found himself inferior to the allies. Eleven thousand British soldiers, commanded by the earl of Marlborough, augmented the army of Spain and the United Provinces, in Flanders, to near fifty thousand men. The Germanic body, united under the emperor, assembled three formidable armies, beside that opposed to the 'Turks; namely, one under the elector of Bavaria, who commanded on the Upper Rhine; another (the main army) led by the duke of Lorraine, who acted on the Middle Rhine; and a third on the lower Rhine, conducted by the elector of Brandenburg.

The duke of Lorraine advanced through the forest of Saon, and laid siege to Mentz; while the elector of Brandenburg, with his own troops, and those of Westphalia, invested Bonne. Both places were taken: and the French, under the mareschal d'Humières, though determined to remain on the defensive in Flanders, were brought to an engagement by the prince of Waldeck, and worsted at Walcourt². Nor was Louis more successful in Catalonia, where his troops were driven back to their own frontiers by the duke de Villa Hermosa; who, pursuing the mareschal de Noailles, laid Roussillon under contribution³. The same bad fortune that seemed at this time to persecute France, fell with still greater weight upon the grand signor, her ally. The prince of Baden, who commanded for the emperor on the side of Hungary, thrice defeated the Turks. He forced their

¹ Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xv.—Henault, 1689.

³ *Mem. de Noailles*, tome i.

² *Id. ibid.*

entrenchments on the banks of the Morava, and routed them at Nissa, and at Widin⁴: so that the Most Christian king, who had expected a great diversion of the imperial forces by the infidels, now found himself obliged to rely on his own arms.

The enemies of France were still more numerous during the next campaign; but her generals were better chosen. The duke of Savoy having joined the allies, it became necessary for Louis to send an army into Italy. This A. D. 1690. army was committed to the mareschal de Catinat, who united the fire of a hero to the coolness of a philosopher. Bred to the law, in which he would have excelled, he had quitted that profession in disgust, and risen to the highest military rank by the mere force of merit. He every where showed himself superior to his antagonist Victor Amadeus, though reputed an able general, and completely defeated him at Staffarda. In consequence of this victory, Saluzzo fell into the hands of the French; Susa, which commanded the passes between Dauphiné and Piedmont, was taken; and all Savoy, except the fortress of Montmelian, was soon reduced⁵.

The same success attended the arms of France on the frontiers of Spain, where all Catalonia was thrown into confusion; and Luxemburg, who united the conduct of Turenne to the intuitive genius of Condé, gave a new turn to her affairs in Flanders. Being joined by the duke de Boufflers, he advanced against the prince of Waldeck; and an obstinate battle ensued at Fleurus, near Charleroy; where, by a bold and decisive motion of his cavalry, he at length obtained a victory. Covered from the view of the enemy by a rising ground, the French horse fell upon the flank of the Dutch, while engaged in front with the infantry. The Dutch cavalry fled at the first shock; but their infantry stood firm, and performed signal acts of valour. Five thousand were killed or wounded before they gave way; and Luxemburg declared, that the Spanish infantry did not behave with greater courage even at Rocroy⁶.

Nothing memorable happened during the campaign on the French side of Germany. The inaction of the allies in that quarter may partly be ascribed to the death of the duke of Lorraine. This gallant prince, whose high spirit had induced him to abandon his dominions, and act as a soldier of fortune, rather than submit to the hard conditions offered him by Louis at the peace of Nimeguen, had greatly distinguished himself on many occasions, and was become a consummate general. His injuries seem always to have been uppermost in his mind, except while engaged against the infidels, when religion was predominant.

⁴ Barre, tome x.

⁵ Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xv.—Henault, 1690.

⁶ *Id. ibid.*

He threatened to enter Lorrain at the head of forty thousand men before the end of the summer ; a circumstance which seems to have given rise to the report of his having been poisoned by the emissaries of France. His letter to the emperor Leopold, his brother-in-law, written on his death-bed, strongly marks his character. "I am going," says he, "to give an account to a more powerful Master, of a life which I have devoted chiefly to your service. Remember that I leave behind me a wife, who is nearly related to you ; children who have no inheritance but my sword, and subjects who are in oppression?"

The Turks were no less successful in this campaign than the French. Exasperated at the loss of their armies in Hungary and the neighbouring provinces, they had demanded the head of the grand vizir, which was granted to them ; and the new vizir, being a man of an active disposition, as well as skilful in the military art, made great preparations for carrying on the war with vigour. Nor did he neglect the arts of policy. The vavode of Transylvania having died lately, he prevailed with the grand signor to declare Tekeli, the chief of the Hungarian malcontents, his successor. This revolution, and the successes of Tekeli, obliged the prince of Baden, who commanded the imperial army in Hungary, to march into Transylvania. During his absence the Turks took Nissa, Widin, and even Belgrade ; which was carried by assault, after a bloody siege, in consequence of the explosion of a powder magazine ; and all the Hungarian territories beyond the Teise fell into their hands^a.

Amid the misfortunes of the allies during this campaign we ought not to omit the defeat of the English and Dutch fleets ; an event which, in speaking of the affairs of Great Britain, I have already hinted at, but found no opportunity to describe. Beachy-head was the scene of action ; where the fleet of France, under Tourville, was with diffidence attacked by two maritime powers, who had long contended singly for the sovereignty of the ocean. So great, indeed, had been the exertions of Louis in raising his navy, that the allies were inferior to Tourville, both in the size and the number of their ships ; but their skill in seamanship, and the memory of their former exploits, it was hoped, would compensate their deficiency in force. It happened, however, otherwise.

After the hostile fleets had continued five days in sight of each other, the earl of Torrington, who commanded in chief for the allies, bore down upon the enemy ; in consequence of express orders to hazard a battle, which he had hitherto carefully avoided. The Dutch squadron, which formed the van of the combined fleet, soon put the van of the French into some disorder ; and the blue

7 Mem. of the Duke of Berwick, vol. i.

8 Barre, tome x.—Heiss, lib. iii.

division of the English attacked the rear of the enemy with great vigour. But the red squadron, which formed the centre, came late into action, and then fought at such a distance from the Dutch, as to suffer their division to be surrounded by the French. Though the Hollanders acted with spirit, most of their ships were disabled; three of the line were sunk in the engagement, and three burned in the flight. Beside many brave seamen, two of their admirals, and several captains, were slain. The English who were in the action suffered extremely. The ships of the French were well manned; their fire was regular and rapid, and their management of the sails during the action skilful and expeditious. Nothing but their ignorance of the course of the tides, and their pursuing in a line, could have prevented them from crushing the naval force of England and Holland. In this unfortunate battle, the allies lost eight ships of the line; but it was attended with no farther effects of any importance⁹.

The progress of the French, during the next campaign, was not equal to what might have been expected from their victories in the foregoing; nor was the success of the allies answerable to their hopes. Though Louis in person A. D. 1691. took Mons, in the spring, in defiance of king William, who had placed himself at the head of the confederate army, the summer was spent in a state of inactivity, and passed without any memorable event on the side of Flanders. On the frontiers of Germany the war languished; and although the French were successful in Catalonia, they had no reason, on the whole, to boast of their good fortune. The conquests of Catinat in Italy were checked by prince Eugene and the young duke of Schomberg; who repulsed him at Coni, in Piedmont, and obliged him soon after to repass the Po. Meanwhile the Turks, on the side of Hungary, lost the advantages of the preceding campaign. They were totally routed, by the prince of Baden, at Salankemen, with the loss of seventeen thousand men; and the grand vizir, the seraskier, and most of their principal officers being slain, the remains of their army found it necessary to seek shelter beyond the Save¹⁰.

William and Louis, the following spring, set out on the same day to join their respective armies; and the highest hopes were formed on both sides. Louis suddenly sat down before Namur, with an army of forty thousand men; A. D. 1692. while the duke of Luxemburg, with another army, covered the siege. The town was strong, the citadel was deemed impregnable: the garrison consisted of ten thousand men; and the famous Cohorn defended in person a new fort, which bore his name,

⁹ Torrington's Letter, July 1—Kennet.—Ralph.

¹⁰ Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xv.—Barre, tome x.

while Vauban directed the attack. The eyes of all Europe were turned towards Namur, where two great kings contended for glory and conquest. William advanced to the relief of the place with eighty thousand men: but the duke's strong position on the banks of the Meheign, which ran between the two armies, and the unexpected rains, which had not only swelled the stream, but formed into morasses the adjoining fields, deterred him from hazarding an engagement. Meanwhile Louis, having taken the town, pressed with vigour the siege of the new fort; and Cohorn was at length obliged to capitulate. The fate of the citadel was soon after decided, and Louis returned in triumph to Versailles¹¹.

In order to recover that reputation, which he had lost by not succouring Namur, William endeavoured to surprise the duke of Luxemburg at Steinkirk. The attack was chiefly made by July 24. the British troops, in columns. They pressed with amazing intrepidity upon the right wing of the French, notwithstanding the disadvantage of ground; broke their line, took their artillery, and, if properly supported, would have gained an undisputed victory. But William and his Dutch generals not only failed to second the efforts of those brave battalions with fresh troops, but to charge the enemy's left wing, when the right was thrown into disorder¹². In consequence of these mistakes, the battle was totally lost. The English, neglected by their allies, and left to sustain almost alone the shock of the household troops of France, encouraged by the presence of the princes of the blood, were constrained to retire with a considerable diminution of their number. Nor was the loss of the French less considerable. Partial as the engagement proved, above ten thousand men fell on both sides, in the space of four hours; and the veteran Luxemburg declared, that he was never in so hot an action¹³. William's military character suffered greatly by this battle, and the hatred of the English against the Dutch became violent in the highest degree¹⁴. "Let us see what sport these English bull-dogs will make!" was the cool sarcastic reply of count Solmos, when ordered to advance to the support of the British troops.

The allies were less unfortunate in other quarters. The French, by their particular attention to Flanders, left their own country exposed. The army under Catinat being too weak to resist the duke of Savoy, that prince entered Dauphiné, and sufficiently revenged himself for the insults which he had received in his own dominions, during the two preceding campaigns. He ravaged the country; he reduced the fortified towns; and sick-

¹¹ Voltaire, *ubi supra*.—Barre.—Henault.

¹³ Mem. of the Duke of Berwick, vol. i.

¹² Mem. of the Duke of Berwick, vol. i.

¹⁴ Burnet, book v.

ness alone prevented him from achieving very important conquests¹⁵. Nothing of great consequence happened on the Rhine, though there the French had rather the advantage. The confederates were more successful on the borders of Hungary. Great-Waradin, after a long blockade, was taken by the imperialists; and those disorders which usually attend the misfortunes of the Turks, involved the court of Constantinople in blood.

The haughty disturber of the peace of Europe opened the next campaign with great pomp in Flanders. He went thither with his whole court, and appeared at the head of one hundred and ten thousand men. Nothing less A. D. 1693. was expected from such a force than the entire conquest of that fine country. But Louis, influenced by motives which have never been sufficiently explained, suddenly disappointed the hopes of his friends, and quieted the fears of his enemies. He sent part of his army into Germany, under the dauphin; and leaving to Luxemburg the conduct of the military operations in Flanders, returned to Versailles with his court¹⁶.

This unexpected measure has been ascribed to the strong position of the allies at Park, near Louvain, where king William had judiciously encamped his army, in order to cover Brussels, and by which he is supposed to have disconcerted the designs of the French monarch. But William, who had only fifty thousand men, would not have dared, as the duke of Berwick justly observes, to wait the approach of so superior a force as that under Louis; or, if he had, he must have been overwhelmed; and Brussels, Liege, and even Maestricht, must have fallen. This, adds the duke, makes the king's departure, and the division of his army, the more unaccountable. A slight indisposition, and the anxiety of madame de Maintenon (his favourite mistress, who accompanied him), for the health and safety of her royal lover, probably saved Flanders; though Louis himself, in a letter to the mareschal de Noailles, ascribes his sudden change of measures to a desire of peace, and to a conviction that it could only be procured by vigorous exertions in Germany¹⁷.

The duke of Luxemburg, with the main body of the French army, after having attempted in vain, by a variety of movements, by taking Huy and threatening Liege, to bring the allies to an engagement, resolved to attack them in their camp, when they were weakened by detachments. He accordingly quitted his post at Hellicheim, suddenly crossed the Jarr, and advanced toward them by forced marches. His van was in sight before

15 Theat. Eur. 1692.—Henault.

16 Burnet, book v.—Duke of Berwick, vol. i.

17 Mem. de Noailles, tome i.

they were advised of his approach; but as it was then almost evening, William might have retired in the night with safety, had he not depended upon the strength of his position and the bravery of his troops. The river Geete bounded his right, and ran winding along his rear. On the left, and in the front of the left, was the brook of Landen. A thick hedge covered part of the front of his right wing. The village of Neerwinden, with entrenchments before it, was situated between the left end of the hedge and his centre, the right joining the Geete. The village of Romsdorff stood farther advanced, opposed to the front of the left wing, and the entrenchments before it stretched to the brook of Landen. A line of strong works extended themselves behind the two villages, and behind these the allied army was formed. The whole front was covered with one hundred pieces of cannon; which, by being advantageously placed on an eminence, commanded all the approaches¹⁸.

The duke of Luxemburg, on the evening of his arrival, dislodged a detachment posted at Landen; and between this village and that of Romsdorff he placed forty battalions in the night. He formed his centre of eight lines of horse and foot intermixed; and his horse, on the left wing, were ordered to extend themselves to the Geete, opposite their line, to the thick hedge which covered the enemy's right. About five in the morning this arrangement was completed: a cannonading took place July 19. on both sides, and the duke of Berwick, with two other lieutenant-generals, Rubantel and Montchevreuil, were ordered to begin the attack; Rubantel, on the entrenchments to the right of Neerwinden, with two brigades; Montchevreuil, on the left, with the same number; and the duke of Berwick on the village, with two other brigades. The village projected beyond the plain; so that the duke of Berwick, who was in the centre, attacked first. He forced the allies to abandon their post; he drove them from hedge to hedge, as far as the plain, at the entrance of which he formed again in order of battle. But the troops destined to attack on his right and left, instead of following their instructions, thought they would be less exposed to the enemy's fire by throwing themselves into the village; in consequence of which attempt, they got at once into his rear; and the allies, perceiving this blunder, re-entered Neerwinden by the right and left, now entirely unguarded. A terrible conflict ensued. The four brigades under Rubantel and Montchevreuil were thrown into confusion, and driven out of the village; and the duke of Berwick, attacked on all sides, and unsupported, was taken prisoner¹⁹.

18 Mem. de Feuquieres.—Berwick's Mem. ubi sup

19 Id. ibid.

Luxemburg, however, was not intimidated by this disaster. He made a second attempt upon Neerwinden, and succeeded. His troops were again expelled, and a third time took possession of the village. The battle now raged with redoubled fury. William twice led the English infantry up to his entrenchments, which the enemy endeavoured to force; but nothing could resist the impetuosity of the French. Their centre being reinforced by the right wing, opened a way for their cavalry into the very lines of the confederates. They flanked the English, they broke the German and Spanish horse; and William, when bravely advancing to the charge, with part of his left wing, had the mortification to see his right driven headlong into the Geete. All was now tumult and confusion. Terror and flight prevailed; and beside those who sunk in the general slaughter, many were drowned in the river. Twelve thousand of the allies were killed or wounded: two thousand were made prisoners; and sixty pieces of cannon, and eight mortars, with about seventy standards and colours, fell into the hands of the French²⁰. Yet Luxemburg gained little but glory by this victory. Six thousand of his best soldiers were slain; and his army was so weakened by the number of the wounded, that he could take no advantage of the consternation of the enemy. During six weeks he continued in a state of inaction, and Charleroy was his only conquest during the remainder of the campaign.

On the side of Germany, the French stained the glory of their arms by acts of detestable cruelty. Chamilly, having taken Heidelberg by storm, put the soldiers and citizens promiscuously to the sword; and when the massacre ended, rapine began. The houses were burned, the churches pillaged, the inhabitants stripped, and the persons of the women exposed to violation²¹. This shocking tragedy excepted, nothing memorable happened in that quarter. The Germans, sensible of their inferiority, studiously avoided a battle; and the dauphin, after crossing the Neckar, and dispersing an arrogant manifesto in recommendation of peace, returned without laurels to Versailles. The war in Hungary produced no signal event. In Catalonia, Noailles took Roses in sight of the Spanish army, and would have met with more important success, had he not been obliged to send a detachment into Italy²².

The military operations, on the side of Piedmont, after having languished throughout the summer, were terminated in the autumn by a spirited conflict. When the duke of Savoy, at the head of the confederates, had invested Pignerol, Catinat, being reinforced with ten thousand men, descended from the moun-

20 Burnet.—Ralph.—Daniel.—Duke of Berwick.

21 Barre.—Heiss.

22 Mem. de Noailles, tome i.

tains, and seemed to threaten Turin. Alarmed for the safety of his capital, the duke raised the siege of Pignerol, and advanced to the small river Cisola, where it passes by Marsaglia. Resolving to engage Catinat, he sent away his heavy baggage. The two armies were soon in sight of each other, and the French general did not decline the combat. The imperial and Piedmontese cavalry, commanded by the duke in person, composed the right wing of the confederates; the infantry, consisting of the troops of Savoy, and those in the pay of Great Britain, were stationed in the centre, under prince Eugene; and the Spaniards, led by their native officers, formed the left wing. The French acted in an unusual manner. They received, as they advanced, the fire of the Spaniards; then fired, charged them with fixed bayonets, and afterward sword in hand. The left wing of the allied army was soon broken, and thrown in confusion on the centre, which, as well as the right wing, sustained the battle with obstinacy. These divisions, however, were ultimately constrained to yield the victory to the French; who, with no small loss on their own side, sacrificed about five thousand of their adversaries. Among many persons of distinction who fell or were taken, the young duke of Schomberg was mortally wounded and made prisoner²³.

Nor were the French less successful in maritime affairs. Though the shock which their navy had sustained off La Hogue rendered them unable to face the combined fleet of England and Holland, they made up in diligence what they wanted in force. The English nation had, with reason, complained of the little attention paid to commerce ever since the beginning of the war. Though powerful fleets were sent to sea, and some advantages gained on that element, trade had suffered much from the frigates and privateers of the enemy. The merchants, therefore, resolved to keep the richest ships in their several harbours, till a sufficient convoy could be obtained: and so great was the negligence of government, that many of them had been for eighteen months ready to sail²⁴! Their number accumulated daily. At length the allied squadrons were ordered to conduct, as far as might be requisite, four hundred merchantmen, consisting of English, Dutch, and Hamburgers, bound for the different ports of the Mediterranean, and generally known by the name of the *Smyrna Fleet*. They accordingly put to sea, and proceeded fifty leagues beyond Ushant; where they left sir George Rooke, with twenty-three sail, to convoy the traders to the straits of Gibraltar.

Meanwhile the French fleet, under Tourville, had taken its station in the bay of Lagos, and lay in that place till Rooke and

23 Mem. de Feuquieres.—Ralph.—De Larrey.

24 Burnet, book v.

the multitude of rich vessels under his conduct appeared. Deceived by false intelligence concerning the strength of the enemy, the English admiral prepared to engage; but suddenly perceiving his mistake, he stood away with an easy sail, ordering the merchantmen to disperse and shift for themselves. The French came up with the sternmost ships, and took two Dutch men of war. About eighty of the mercantile vessels were taken or destroyed. The object of the voyage was defeated; and the loss in ships and cargo nearly amounted to twelve hundred thousand pounds²⁵.

But Louis, amid all his victories, had the mortification to see his subjects languishing in misery and want. France was afflicted with a dreadful famine, partly occasioned by unfavourable seasons, partly by the war, which had not left hands sufficient to cultivate the ground; and notwithstanding all the provident attention of her ministry in bringing supplies of corn from abroad, in regulating the price and furnishing the markets, many of her people died of hunger²⁶.

William, apprised of this distress, and still thirsting for revenge, rejected all advances toward peace, and hastened his military preparations. He was accordingly enabled to appear early in Flanders at the head of a great A. D. 1694. and well appointed army; but the superior genius of Luxemburg, with an inferior force, prevented the king from gaining any considerable advantage. The re-taking of Huy was his only conquest. On the Upper Rhine, in Hungary, in Piedmont, no memorable event occurred. On the side of Spain, the war was carried on with greater vigour. Noailles, having forced the passage of the river Ter, in Catalonia, defeated an entrenched Spanish army. Gironne and Ostalric fell successively into his hands; and he would have made himself master of Barcelona, had not admiral Russell, with the combined fleet, arrived in the neighbouring seas, and obliged the French fleet to take shelter in Toulon. While Tourville and d'Estrées were blocked up in that harbour, some of the French ports, in the Channel were bombarded, though with no great effect²⁷.

The glory and greatness of Louis were now not only at their height, but verging toward a decline. His resources were exhausted; his minister Louvois, who knew so well how to employ them, was dead: and Luxemburg, the last of those great generals who had made France the terror of Europe, died before the opening of the next campaign. Louis determined, therefore, to act merely on the defensive in the Netherlands,

25 Burchet's Naval Hist.—Burnet.—Ralph.
27 Daniel.—Burnet.—Duke of Berwick.

26 Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xv.

where the allies had assembled an extraordinary force. After A. D. 1695. some hesitation, he placed the *mareschal de Villeroy* at the head of the principal army, and entrusted the second to *Boufflers*. *Namur* on the right, and *Dunkirk* on the left, comprehended between them the extent of country to be defended by the French. *Tournay* and *Ypres* formed part of the line. *Boufflers* was ordered to assemble his army near *Mons*, to cover *Namur*; and *Villeroy* posted himself between the *Scheld* and the *Lys*, to protect *Tournay*, *Ypres*, and *Dunkirk*²⁸.

King William, to amuse the enemy, and conceal his real design upon *Namur*, made some artful movements, which distracted the attention of *Villeroy*, and rendered him uncertain where the storm would first fall. At length having completed his preparations, and formed his army into three bodies, he ordered the *Elector of Bavaria*, with one division, to invest *Namur*. He himself, at the head of the main body, was encamped behind the *Mehaign*, and in a condition to pass that river, and sustain the siege, if necessary; while the prince of *Vaudemont*, with an army of observation, lay between the *Lys* and the *Mandel*, to cover those places in *Flanders* which were most exposed. *Boufflers* having thrown himself into the town with a reinforcement, it made a vigorous defence, but was at last obliged to surrender; and the citadel, which *Villeroy* attempted in vain to relieve, was also taken. *Louis*, in order to wipe off this disgrace, and to retaliate on the confederates for the attacks made by the English on the coast of France, commanded *Villeroy* to bombard *Brussels*; and the prince of *Vaudemont* had the mortification to see a considerable part of that city laid in ruins, without being able either to prevent or avenge the wanton destruction²⁹.

The military reputation of William, which had suffered greatly during the three foregoing campaigns, was much raised by the recovery of *Namur*. But the allies had little success in other quarters. No event of importance happened on the side of *Italy*, on the *Upper Rhine*, or in *Catalonia*. On the side of *Hungary*, where peace had been expected by the confederates, the accession of *Mustapha II.* to the *Ottomon* throne, gave a new turn to affairs. Possessed of more vigour than his predecessor *Ahmed II.*, he resolved to command his troops in person. He accordingly took the field: passed the *Danube*: stormed *Lippa*; seized *Titul*; and falling suddenly on a body of imperialists, under *Veterani*, he killed that officer, dispersed his forces,

²⁸ Mem. de Feuquieres.

²⁹ Kane's Campaigns.—Mem. de Feuquieres.

and closed with success a campaign which promised nothing but misfortune to the Turks³⁰.

The next campaign produced no signal event.— A. D. 1696. France was exhausted by her great exertions; and, the king of Spain and the emperor excepted, all parties seemed heartily tired of the war. Louis by his intrigues had detached the duke of Savoy from the confederacy: he tampered with the other powers: and a congress for a general peace, under the mediation of Charles XI. of Sweden, was at last opened, at the castle of Ryswick, between Delft and the Hague. The taking of Barcelona, by the duke of Vendome, induced the king of Spain to listen to the proposals of France; and the emperor, after reproaching his allies with deserting him, found it necessary to accede to the treaty. A. D. 1697.

The concessions made by the French king were very considerable; but the pretensions of the house of Bourbon to the Spanish succession were left in full force. Though the renunciation of all claim to that succession, conformable to the Pyrenean treaty, had been one great object of the war, no mention was made of it in the articles of peace. It was stipulated, that Louis should acknowledge William as lawful sovereign of Great Britain and Ireland, and make no farther attempt to disturb him in the possession of his kingdoms³¹; that the duchy of Luxemburg, the county of Chiney, Charleroy, Mons, Aeth, Courtray, and almost all the places united to France by the chambers of Metz and Brisac, as well as those taken in Catalonia during the war, should be restored to Spain; that Freyburg, Brisac, and Philipsburg, should be given up to the emperor; and that the duchies of Lorrain and Bar should be rendered back to their native prince³².

The emperor had scarcely assented to the treaty of Ryswick, which re-established tranquillity in the north and west of Europe, when he received intelligence of the total defeat of the Turks, by his arms, at Zenta, a small village on the western bank of the Teisse, in the kingdom of Hungary. The celebrat-

30 Barre.—Heiss.

31 Louis, we are told, discovered great reluctance in submitting to this article; and, that he might not seem altogether to desert the dethroned monarch, proposed that his son should succeed to the crown of England, after the death of William. It is said, that William, with little hesitation, agreed to the request; that he even solemnly engaged to procure the repeal of the act of settlement, and to obtain another act, declaring the pretended prince of Wales his successor. But James, it is added, rejected the offer, protesting that, if he should be capable of consenting to such a disgraceful proposal, in favour of his son, he might justly be reproached with departing from his avowed principles, and with ruining monarchy, by rendering elective an hereditary crown. *Dépôt des Affaires Etrangères à Versailles.*—James II. 1697.—Macpherson's Hist. Brit. vol. ii.

32 Du Mont, Corp. Diplom. tome viii.

ed prince Eugene of Savoy had succeeded the elector of Saxony in the command of the imperialists, and to his consummate abilities they were indebted for their extraordinary success. Mustapha commanded his army in person. The battle was of short duration, but uncommonly bloody. About fifteen thousand Turks were left dead on the field, and eight thousand were drowned in the river, in endeavouring to avoid the fury of the sword. The magnificent pavilion of the sultan, the stores, ammunition, provisions, and all the artillery and baggage of the enemy, fell into the hands of prince Eugene. The grand vizir was killed, the seal of the Ottoman empire taken, and the aga of the Janisaries, and twenty-seven pashas, were found among the slain³³.

This decisive victory, though it was followed by no striking consequences, broke the spirit of the Turks; and the haughty Mustapha, after attempting in vain, during another campaign, to recover the laurels he had lost at Zenta, agreed to listen to proposals of peace. The plenipotentiaries of the belligerent powers accordingly met at Carlowitz, and signed a treaty, in Jan. 26, 1699. which it was stipulated that Hungary, on this side of the Drave, and as far as the district of N. S.

Temeswar, with Transylvania and Sclavonia, should be ceded to the house of Austria; that the Russians should retain Azoph, on the Palus Mæotis, which had been taken by their young sovereign Peter I. afterward styled the Great; that the whole province of Podolia should be restored to the Poles; and that the Venetians, who had distinguished themselves during the latter years of the war, should be gratified with all the Morea, or ancient Peloponnesus, and with several places in Dalmatia³⁴.

Thus, my dear Philip, was general tranquillity restored to Europe. But the seeds of future discord, as we shall soon find, were already sown in every corner of Christendom. It was but a delusive calm before a violent storm. It will however afford us leisure to take a survey of the progress of society.

³³ Life of Prince Eugene.—Barre, tome x.

³⁴ Du Mont, Corp. Diplom. tome viii.

LETTER XIX.

Of the Progress of Society in Europe from the Middle of the Sixteenth to the End of the Seventeenth Century.

ABOUT the middle of the sixteenth century, as we have formerly seen¹, society had attained a very high degree of perfection in Italy. Soon after that æra, the Italian states began to decline, and the other European nations, then comparatively barbarous, to advance towards refinement. Among these, the French took the lead: for, although the Spanish nobility, during the reign of Charles V. and his immediate successors, were perhaps the most polished and enlightened set of men on this side of the Alps, the great body of the nation then was, as it still continues, sunk in ignorance, superstition, and barbarism. And the secluded condition of the women, both in Spain and Italy, was a farther barrier against true politeness. That grand obstruction to elegance and pleasure was effectually removed, in the Gallic kingdom, by Francis I. Anne of Bretagne, wife of Charles VIII. and of Louis XII., had introduced the custom of the public appearance of ladies at the French court: Francis encouraged it, and, by familiarising the intercourse of the sexes, in many brilliant assemblies and gay circles, threw over the manners of the nation those bewitching graces that have so long attracted the admiration of Europe.

But this innovation, like most others in civil life, was at first attended with several inconveniences. As soon as familiarity had worn off that respect, approaching to adoration, which had hitherto been paid to women of rank, the advances of the men became more bold and licentious. No longer afraid of offending, they poured their lawless passion in the ear of beauty; and female innocence, unaccustomed to such solicitations, was unable to resist the seducing language of love, when breathed from the glowing lips of youth and manhood. Not only frequent intrigues, but acts of gross sensuality, were the consequences; and the court of France, during half a century, was little better than a common brothel. Catharine of Medicis encouraged this sensuality, and employed it as the engine for perfecting her system of Machiavelian policy. By the attractions of her fair attendants, she governed the leaders of the Huguenot faction, or by their insidious caresses obtained the secrets of her enemies,

¹ Part I. Letter LVIII.

in order to work their ruin ; to bring them before a venal tribunal, or to take them off by the more dark and common instruments of her ambition—poison, and the stiletto. Murders were hatched in the arms of love, and massacre planned in the cabinet of pleasure.

On the accession of Henry IV. and the cessation of the religious wars, gallantry began to assume a milder form. The reign of sensuality continued ; but it was mingled with sentiment, and connected with heroism. Henry himself, though habitually licentious, was often in love, and sometimes foolishly intoxicated with that passion ; but he was always a king and a soldier. His courtiers, in like manner, were frequently dissolute, but never effeminate. The same beauty that served to solace the warrior after his toils, contributed also to inspire him with new courage. Chivalry seemed to revive in the train of libertinism ; and the ladies, acquiring greater knowledge and experience, from their more early and frequent intercourse with our sex, became more sparing of their favours.

Gallantry was formed into a system during the reign of Louis XIII.; and love was analysed with all the nicety of metaphysics. The faculties of the two sexes were whetted, and their manners polished, by combating each other. Woman was placed beyond the reach of man, without the help of grates or bar. In the bosom of society, in the circle of amusement, and even in the closet of assignation, she set him at defiance; and while she listened to his fond request, she was deaf to his suit, unless when presented under the sanction of virtue, and recommended by sentiment.

This tender sentiment, so much talked of in France, and so little felt, was sublimed to an enthusiastic passion, during the regency of Anne of Austria, and the civil wars that disfigured the beginning of the reign of Louis XIV. Then all things were conducted by women. The usual time for deliberation was midnight ; and a lady in bed, or on a sofa, was the soul of the council. There she determined to fight, to negotiate, to embroil, or to accommodate matters with the court ; and as love presided over all those consultations, secret aversions or attachments frequently prepared the way for the greatest events. A revolution in the heart of a woman of fashion, almost always announced a change in public affairs².

² Every one had her department and her dominion. Madame de Montbazou, fair and showy, governed the duke of Beaufort ; madame de Longueville, the duke of Rochefoucault ; madame de Chatillon, Nemours and Condé ; mademoiselle de Chevreuse, the coadjutor, afterward cardinal de Retz ; mademoiselle de Saugon, devout and tender, the duke of Orleans ; and the duchess of Bouillon, her husband. At the same time madame de Chevreuse, lively and warm, resigned herself to her lovers from taste, and to politics occasionally ; and the princess Palatine, alternately the friend and the enemy of the great Condé, by means of

The ladies often appeared openly at the head of factions, adorned with the ensigns of their party ; visited the troops, and presided at councils of war ; while their lovers spoke as seriously of an assignation, as of the issue of a campaign. Hence the celebrated verses of the philosophical duke de Rochefoucault to the duchess of Longueville :

*Pour mériter son cœur, pour plaire à ses beaux yeux,
J'ai fait la guerre aux rois, je l'aurais fait aux dieux !*

"To merit that heart, and to please those bright eyes,
"I made war upon kings ; I'd have warr'd 'gainst the skies !"

Every thing connected with gallantry, how insignificant soever in itself, was considered as a matter of importance. The duke de Bellegarde, the declared lover of the queen-regent, in taking leave of her majesty to assume the command of an army, begged as a particular favour that she would touch the hilt of his sword. And M. de Chatillon, who was enamoured of mademoiselle de Guerchi, wore one of her garters tied round his arm in battle³.

But this serious gallantry, which Anne of Austria had brought with her from Spain, and which was so contrary to the genius of the French nation, vanished with the other remains of barbarism on the approach of the bright days of Louis XIV., when the glory of France was at its height, and the French language, literature, arts, and manners, were perfected. Ease was associated with elegance, taste with fashion, and grace with freedom. Love spoke once more the language of nature, while decency drew a veil over sensuality. Men and women became reasonable beings, and the intercourse between the sexes a school of urbanity ; where a mutual desire to please gave smoothness to the behaviour, and mutual esteem imparted delicacy to the mind and sensibility to the heart⁴.

Nor were the improvements in manners, during the reign of Louis, confined to the intercourse between the sexes, or to the habits of general politeness produced by a more rational system of gallantry. Duels, as we have had occasion to observe,

her genius more than her beauty, subjected all whom she desired to please, or whom she had either a whim or an interest to persuade. *Essai sur le Caractère, les Mœurs, et l'Esprit des Femmes dans les différens Siècles*, par M. Thomas.

3 *Mem. de Mad. de Motteville.*

4 That gallantry which, roving from object to object, finds no gratification but in variety, and which characterises the present French manners, was not introduced till the minority of Louis XV. "Then," says M. Thomas, "a new court and new ideas changed all things. A bolder gallantry became the fashion. Shame was mutually communicated, and mutually pardoned, and levity joining itself to excess, formed a corruption at the same time deep and frivolous, which laughed at every thing, that it might blush at nothing." *Essai sur le Caractère des Femmes*, p. 190.

were long permitted by the laws of all the European nations, and sometimes authorised by the magistrate, for terminating doubtful questions. But single combats, in resentment of private or personal injuries, did not become common till the reign of Francis I., who, in vindication of his character as a gentleman, sent a cartel of defiance to his rival, the emperor Charles V.—The example was contagious. Thenceforth every one thought himself entitled to draw his sword, and to call on his adversary to make reparation for any affront or injury that seemed to touch his honour. The introduction of such an opinion among men of fierce courage, lofty sentiments, and rude manners, was productive of the most fatal consequences. A disdainful look, a disrespectful word, or even a haughty stride, sufficed to provoke a challenge. And much of the best blood in Christendom, in defiance of the laws, was wantonly spilled in these frivolous contests, which, towards the close of the sixteenth century, were scarcely less destructive than war itself. But the practice of duelling, though alike pernicious and absurd, has been followed by some beneficial effects. It has made men more respectful in their behaviour to each other, less ostentatious in conversation, and more tender of living characters, but especially of female reputation; and the gentleness of manners introduced by this restraint, while it has contributed to social happiness, has rendered duels themselves less frequent, by removing the causes of offence.

The progress of arts and literature, in France, kept pace with the progress of manners. As early as the reign of Francis I., who is deservedly styled the *Father of the French Muses*, a better taste in composition had been introduced. Rabelais and Montagne, whose native humour and good sense will ever make them be ranked among the greatest writers of their nation, gave a beginning to the French prose; and French verse was gradually polished by Marot, Ronsarde, and Malherbe, while prose received new graces from Voiture and Balzac. At length Corneille produced the *Cid*, and Pascal the *Provincial Letters*. The former is justly admired as a great effort of poetical genius, both with regard to style and matter: and the latter work is still deemed an excellent model of prose composition, as well as of delicate raillery and sound reasoning.

The *Observations* of the French Academy on the *Cid* are a striking proof of the rapid progress of taste in modern times, as the *Cinna* of the same author is of the early excellence of the French drama. These observations were made at the desire of cardinal Richelieu, who had established that academy in 1635; and who, not satisfied with being reputed, what he certainly

was, the most penetrating statesman in Europe, was ambitious of being thought, what he was not, the most elegant poet in France. He was more jealous of the fame of Corneille, than of the power of the house of Austria, and affairs stood still while he was concerting the criticism on the *Cid*^s.

That criticism contributed greatly to the improvement of polite literature in France. Corneille was immediately followed by Moliere, Racine, Quinault, Boileau, La Fontaine, and all the fine writers who shed lustre over the early part of the reign of Louis XIV. The language of the tender passions, little understood even by Corneille, was copied with success by madame de la Fayette in her ingenious novels, and afterwards no less happily introduced on the stage by Racine; especially in his two pathetic tragedies *Phædra* and *Andromache*. The glaring figures of discourse, the pointed antithesis, the gingle of words, and every species of false wit and false refinement, which prevailed during the former reign, were banished with the romantic gallantry that had introduced them: and composition, like manners, returned in appearance to the simplicity of nature, adorned but not disguised by art. This elegant simplicity is more particularly to be found in the tragedies of Racine, the fables of La Fontaine, and the comedies of Moliere, whose wonderful talent for ridiculing whatever is affected or incongruous in behaviour, as well as of exposing vice and folly, contributed not a little to that happy change which now took place in the manners of the French nation.

The same good taste extended itself to all the fine arts. Several magnificent edifices were raised in the most correct style of architecture; sculpture was perfected by Girardon, of whose skill the mausoleum of cardinal Richelieu is a lasting monument: Poussin equalled Raphael in some branches of painting; while Rubens and Vandyke displayed the glories of the Flemish school; and Lulli set to excellent music the simple and passionate operas of Quinault. France and the neighbouring provinces, toward the latter part of the seventeenth century, were what Italy had been a century before, the favourite abode of classic elegance.

Taste and politeness made a less rapid progress in other parts of Europe, during the period under review. Germany and the adjoining countries, from the league of Smalcalde to the peace of Westphalia, were perpetual scenes either of religious wars or religious disputes. But these disputes tended to enlighten the human mind, and those wars to invigorate the human character, as well as to perfect the military science; an advantage in itself by no means contemptible, as that science is not only necessa-

ry to protect ingenuity against force, but it is intimately connected with several others conducive to the happiness of mankind. All the powers of the soul were roused, and all the emotions of the heart called forth. Courage ceased to be an enthusiastic energy or rapacious impulse: it became a steady effort in vindication of the dearest interests of society. No longer the slaves of superstition, of blind belief, or blind opinion, determined and intelligent men firmly asserted their civil and religious rights. And Germany produced consummate generals, sound politicians, deep divines and even acute philosophers, before she made any advances in the belles-lettres. The reason is obvious.

The revival of learning in Europe had prepared the minds of men for receiving the doctrines of the Reformation, as soon as they were promulgated; and instead of being startled when the daring hand of Luther drew aside, or rather rent, the veil that covered established errors, the genius of the age, which had encouraged the attempt, applauded its success. Even before the appearance of Luther, Erasmus had confuted, with great eloquence and force of reasoning, several tenets of the Romish church (though it does not appear that he had any intention of overturning the established system of religion), and exposed others, as well as the learning of the schools, with much wit and pleasantry, to all the scorn of ridicule. Luther himself, though a stranger to elegance or taste in composition, zealously promoted the study of ancient literature, as necessary to a right understanding of the Scriptures, which he held up as the standard of religious truth. A knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages became common among the reformers: and though in general little capable of relishing the beauties of the classics, they insensibly acquired, by perusing them, a clearness of reasoning and a freedom of thinking, which not only enabled them to triumph over their antagonists, but to investigate with accuracy several moral and political subjects.

These, instead of polite literature, employed the thoughts of those who were not altogether immersed in theological controversy; and the names of Grotius and Pufendorff are still mentioned with respect. They delineated, with no small degree of exactness, the great outlines of the human character, and the laws of civil society: it was reserved for later writers, for Smith and Ferguson, Montesquieu and Helvetius, to complete the picture. Their principles they derived partly from general reasoning, and partly from the political situation of Europe in that age. In Germany and the United Provinces, Protestants, and Catholics were blended; and the experience of the destructive effects of persecution, not any profound investigation, seems

first to have suggested the idea of mutual toleration, the most important principle established by the political and controversial writers of the seventeenth century. This subject demands particular attention.

In the present age it may seem incredible, and more especially in England, where the idea of toleration has become familiar, and where its beneficial effects are felt, that men should ever have been persecuted for their speculative opinions : or that a method of terminating their differences, so agreeable to the mild and charitable spirit of Christianity, did not immediately occur to the contending parties. But in order to be able to judge properly of this matter, we must transport ourselves back to the sixteenth century, when the sacred rights of conscience and of private judgment, obvious as they now appear, were little understood ; when the idea of toleration, and even the word itself in the sense now affixed to it, were unknown among Christians. The cause of such singularity deserves to be traced.

Among the ancient pagans, whose deities were all local and tutelary, diversity of sentiment, concerning the object or rites of religious worship, seems to have been no source of animosity ; because the acknowledgment that veneration was due to any one god, did not imply a denial of the existence or power of any other god. Nor were the modes and rites of worship, established in one country, incompatible with those of other nations. Therefore the errors in their theological system were of such a nature as to be consistent with concord ; and notwithstanding the amazing number of their divinities, as well as the infinite variety of their ceremonies, a sociable and tolerating spirit subsisted almost universally in the heathen world. But when the preachers of the Gospel declared one Supreme Being to be the sole object of religious veneration, and prescribed the form of worship most acceptable to him, whosoever admitted the truth of it, consequently held every other mode of religion to be absurd and impious. Hence arose the zeal of the first converts to the Christian faith in propagating its doctrines, and the ardour with which they endeavoured to overturn all other forms of worship. That ardour, and not, as commonly supposed, their religious system, drew upon them the indignation of the civil power. At length, Christianity ascended the throne of the Cæsars, and the cross was exalted in the Capitol. But although numbers, imitating the example of the court (which confined its favours chiefly to the followers of the new religion,) crowded into the church, many still adhered to the ancient worship. Enraged at such obstinacy, the ministers of Jesus forgot so far the nature of their own mission, and the means which they ought to have employed for making proselytes, that they armed the imperial pow-

er against those unhappy men ; and as they could not persuade, they endeavoured to compel them to believe⁶.

In the mean time, controversies, concerning articles of faith, multiplied among the Christians themselves; and the same compulsive measures, the same punishments, and the same threatenings, which had been directed against infidels and idolaters, were also used against heretics, or those who differed from the established church in matters of worship or doctrine. Every zealous disputant endeavoured to interest the civil magistrate in his cause, and several employed, in their turn, the secular arm to crush or extirpate their opponents⁷. In order to terminate these prevalent and mischievous dissensions, as well as to exalt their own consequence, the bishops of Rome asserted their claim to infallibility in explaining articles of faith, and deciding finally on all points of controversy : and, bold as the pretension was, they so far imposed on the credulity of mankind, as to procure its recognition. Perhaps a latent sense of the necessity either of universal freedom, or of a fixed standard in matters of religion, might assist the deceit. But however that may have been, it is certain that the remedy was worse than the disease. If wars and bloodshed were the too common effects of the diversity of opinions arising from different interpretations of Scripture, and of hereditary princes sometimes embracing one opinion, sometimes another, a total extinction of knowledge and inquiry, and of every noble virtue, was the consequence of the papal supremacy. It was held not only a resistance to truth, but an act of rebellion against the sacred authority of that unerring tribunal, to deny any doctrine to which it had given the sanction of its approbation ; and the secular power, of which, by various arts, the popes had acquired the absolute direction in many countries, was instantly exerted to avenge both crimes. Thus a complete despotism was established, more debasing than any species of civil tyranny.

To this spiritual despotism had Europe been subjected for several centuries, before any one ventured to call in question the authority on which it was founded. Even after the æra of the Reformation, a right to extirpate *error* by *force* was universally allowed to be the privilege of those who possessed the knowledge of truth ; and as every sect of Christians believed that was their peculiar gift, they all claimed and exercised, as far as they were able, the prerogatives which it was supposed to convey. The Catholics, as their system rested on the decisions of an infallible judge, never doubted that truth was on their side, and openly called on the civil power to repel the impious and

6 Mosheim, Hist. Eccles. vol. i.—Robertson's Hist. Charles V. book xi. 7 Id. *ibid*.

heretical innovators, who had risen up against it. The Protestants, no less confident that their doctrine was well founded, required, with equal zeal, the princes of their party to crush such as presumed to discredit or oppose it; and Luther, Calvin, Cranmer, Knox, the founders of the reformed church in their respective countries, inflicted, as far as they had power and opportunity, the same punishments that were denounced against their own disciples by the church of Rome, on such as called in question any article in their several creeds. Nor was it till near the close of the seventeenth century, when the lights of philosophy had dispelled the mists of prejudice, that toleration was admitted under its present form; first into the United Provinces, and then into England. For although, by the pacification of Passau, and the Recess of Augsburg, the Lutherans and Romanists were mutually allowed to enjoy the free exercise of their religion in Germany, the followers of Calvin yet remained without any protection from the rigour of the laws denounced against heretics. And after the treaty of Munster, concluded in more liberal times, had put the Calvinists on the same footing with the Lutherans, the former sanguinary laws still continued in force against other sects. But that treaty, which restored peace and tranquillity to the north of Europe, introduced order into the empire, and prepared the way for refinement, proved also the means of enlarging the sentiments of men, by affording them leisure to cultivate their minds; and Germany, less enslaved by civil and ecclesiastical tyranny, beheld, in process of time, taste and genius flourish in a climate deemed peculiar to lettered industry and theological dulness, and her fame in arts and sciences as great as her renown in arms.

Even before this æra of public prosperity, the lamp of liberal science had illuminated Germany, on subjects remote from religious controversy. Copernicus had discovered the true theory of the heavens, which was afterward perfected by our immortal Newton; that the sun, the greatest body, is the centre of our planetary system, dispensing light and heat, and communicating circular motion to the various planets, Mercury, Venus, the Earth, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, which moved around him. And Kepler had ascertained the true figure of the orbits, and the proportions of the motions of those planets; that each planet moves in an ellipsis, which has one of its foci in the centre of the sun; that the higher planets not only move in greater circles, but also more slowly than those that are nearer; so that, on a double account, they are longer in performing their revolutions.

Nor was that bold spirit of investigation, which the Reformation had roused, confined to the countries that had renounced

the pope's supremacy and the slavish doctrines of the Romish church. It had reached even Italy ; where Galileo, by the invention, or at least the improvement of the telescope, confirmed the system of Copernicus. He discovered the mountains in the moon, a planet attendant on the earth ; the satellites of Jupiter ; the phases of Venus ; the spots in the sun, and its rotation, or turning on its own axis. But he was not suffered to unveil the mysteries of the heavens with impunity. Superstition took alarm at seeing her empire invaded. Galileo was cited before the inquisition, committed to prison, and commanded solemnly to abjure his *heresies* and *absurdities* ; in regard to which, the following decree, an eternal disgrace to the brightest age of literature in modern Italy, was promulgated in 1633 : “ To say that the sun is in the centre, and without local motion, is a proposition absurd and false in sound philosophy, and even heretical, being expressly contrary to the Holy Scripture ; and to say that the earth is not placed in the centre of the universe, nor immoveable, but that it has so much as a diurnal motion, is also a proposition false and absurd in sound philosophy, as well as erroneous in the faith !”

The influence of the Reformation on government and manners, was no less conspicuous than on philosophy. While the sovereigns of France and Spain rose into absolute power at the expense of their unhappy subjects, the people in every Protestant state acquired new privileges. Vice was depressed by the regular exertions of law, when the sanctuaries of the church were abolished, and the ecclesiastics themselves became amenable to punishment. This happy influence extended itself even to the church of Rome. The desire of equalling the reformers in those talents which had procured them respect ; the necessity of acquiring the knowledge requisite for defending their own tenets, or refuting the arguments of their opponents, together with the emulation natural between rival churches, engaged the popish clergy to apply themselves to the study of useful science, which they cultivated with such assiduity and success, that they gradually grew as eminent in literature as they were formerly remarkable for ignorance. And the same principle, proceeding from the same source, occasioned a change no less salutary in their manners.

Various causes, which I have had occasion to enumerate in the course of my narration, had concurred in producing great licentiousness, and even a total dissoluteness of manners among the Roman ecclesiastics. Luther and his adherents began their attacks upon the church with such vehement invectives against these, that, in order to remove the scandal, and silence those declamations, greater decency of conduct was found necessary.

And the principal reformers were so eminent, not only for the purity but even austerity of their manners, and had acquired such reputation among the people on that account, that the popish clergy must have soon lost all credit, if they had not endeavoured to conform, in some measure, to the standard held up to them. They were beside sensible, that all their actions fell under the severe inspection of the Protestants, whom enmity and emulation prompted to observe and to stigmatise the smallest vice or impropriety in their conduct, with all the cruelty of revenge and all the exultation of triumph. Hence they became not only studious to avoid such irregularities as must give offence, but more intent on the acquisition of the virtues that might merit praise.

Nor has the influence of the Reformation been felt only by inferior members of the Romish church: it has extended to the sovereign pontiffs themselves. Violations of decorum, and even trespasses against morality, which passed without censure in those ages, when neither the power of the popes, nor the veneration of the people for their character, had any bounds—when there was no hostile eye to observe the errors in their conduct, nor any jealous adversary to inveigh against them—would now be liable to the severest animadversion, and excite general indignation and horror. The popes, aware of this, instead of rivalling the courts of temporal princes in gaiety, or surpassing them in licentiousness, have studied to assume manners more suitable to their ecclesiastical character; and by their humanity, their love of literature, their moderation, and even their piety, have made some atonement to mankind for the crimes of their predecessors.

The head of the church of Rome, however, not willing to rest what remained of his spiritual empire merely on the virtues and talents of its secular members, instituted a new monastic order, namely, that of the Jesuits; who, instead of being confined to the silence and solitude of the cloister, like other monks, were taught to consider themselves as formed for action; as chosen soldiers, who, under the command of a general, were bound to exert themselves continually in the service of Christ, and of the pope, his vicar on earth. To give more vigour and concert to their efforts, in opposing the enemies of the holy see, and in extending its dominion, this general or head of the order was invested with despotic authority over its members; and that they might have full leisure for such service, they were exempted from strict monastic observances. They were required to attend to the transactions of the great world, to study the dispositions of persons in power, and to cultivate their freindship⁸.

⁸ *Compte Rendu, par M. de Monclar.—D'Alembert, sur la Destruc. de l'Ordre des Jusuits.*

In consequence of these primary instructions, which infused a spirit of intrigue into the whole fraternity, the Jesuits considered the education of youth as their peculiar province; they aimed at being spiritual guides and confessors: they preached frequently, in order to attract the notice of the people; and they set out as missionaries, with a view to convert unbelieving nations. The novelty of the institution, as well as the singularity of its object, procured the society many admirers and patrons. The generals and other officers had the address to avail themselves of every circumstance in its favour; and in a short time, the number and influence of its members were very considerable. Before the beginning of the seventeenth century, only sixty years after the institution of their order, they had obtained the chief direction of the education of youth in every Catholic country in Europe. They had become the confessors of most of its monarchs: a function of no small importance in any reign, but under a weak prince, superior even to that of minister. They were the spiritual guides of almost every person eminent for rank or power, and they possessed the highest degree of confidence and interest with the papal court, as the most zealous and able assertors of its dominion.

The advantages which an active and enterprising body of priests might derive from these circumstances, are obvious. As they formed the minds of men in youth, they retained an ascendant over them in their more advanced years. They possessed, at different periods, the direction of the most considerable courts in Europe; they mingled in all public affairs, and took part in every intrigue and revolution. With the power, the wealth of the order increased. The Jesuits acquired ample possessions in every popish kingdom; and, under pretext of promoting the success of their missionaries, they obtained a special license from the court of Rome to trade with the nations which they laboured to convert⁹. In consequence of this permission, they engaged in an extensive and lucrative commerce, both in the East and West Indies, and they opened warehouses in different parts of Europe, where they vended their commodities. Not satisfied with trade alone, they imitated the example of other commercial societies, and aimed at obtaining settlements.—They accordingly gained possession of Paraguay, a large and fertile country in South-America, and reigned as sovereigns over two or three hundred thousand subjects.

Unhappily for mankind, the vast influence which the Jesuits acquired by all these different means, was often exerted for the most pernicious purposes. Every Jesuit was taught to regard

the interest of the order as his principal object, to which all other considerations were to be sacrificed: and as it was for the honour and advantage of the society, that its members should possess an ascendant over persons of rank and power, the Jesuits, in order to acquire and preserve such ascendant, were led to propagate a system of relaxed and pliant morality, which, accommodating itself to the passions of men, tolerated their imperfections, apparently justified their vices, and authorised almost every action that the most audacious or crafty politician could wish to commit¹⁰.

In like manner, as the prosperity of the order was intimately connected with the preservation of the papal authority, the Jesuits, influenced by the same principle of *attachment* to the *interests* of their *society*, which may serve as a key to the genius of their policy, were the most zealous patrons of these doctrines which tend to exalt ecclesiastical power on the ruins of civil government. They attributed to the court of Rome a jurisdiction as extensive and absolute as was claimed by the most presumptuous pontiffs during the dark ages: they contended for the entire independence of ecclesiastics on the civil magistrate; and they published such tenets, concerning the duty of opposing princes who were enemies to the Catholic faith, as countenanced the most atrocious crimes, and tended to dissolve all the ties connecting subjects with their rulers¹¹.

As the order derived both reputation and authority from the zeal with which it stood forth in defence of the Romish church, against the attacks of the champions of the Reformation, its members, proud of this distinction, considered it as their peculiar function to combat the opinions, and to check the progress of the Protestants. They made use of every art, and employed every weapon against the reformed religion: they set themselves in opposition to every gentle and tolerating measure in its favour; and they incessantly stirred up against its followers all the rage of ecclesiastical and civil persecution. But they at length felt the lash of that persecution which they stimulated with such unfeeling rigour.

While Paul III. was instituting the order of Jesuits, and Italy exulting in her superiority in arts and letters, England, already separated from the holy see, and, like Germany, agitated by theological disputes, was groaning under the civil and religious tyranny of Henry VIII. This prince was a lover of letters, which he cultivated himself, and no less fond of the society of women than his friend and rival Francis I.; but his controversies with the court of Rome, and the sanguinary measures which he pursued in his domestic policy, threw a cloud

10 M. de Monclar, ubi sup.

11 Id. ibid.

over the manners and the studies of the nation, which the barbarities of his daughter Mary rendered yet darker, and which was scarcely dispelled before the middle of the reign of Elizabeth.—Then the Muse, always the first in the train of literature, encouraged by the change in the manners, which became more gay, gallant, and stately, ventured once more to expand her wings; and Chaucer found a successor worthy of himself, in the celebrated Spenser.

The principal work of this poet is named the *Fairy Queen*.—It is of the heroic kind, and was intended as a compliment to queen Elizabeth and her courtiers. But, instead of employing historical or traditional characters for that purpose, like Virgil, the most refined flatterer, if not the finest poet of antiquity, Spenser makes use of allegorical personages; a choice which has contributed to consign to neglect one of the most truly poetical compositions that genius ever produced, and which, notwithstanding the want of unity in the fable, and of probability in the incidents, would otherwise have continued to command attention. For the descriptions in the *Fairy Queen* are generally bold and striking, or soft and captivating; the shadowy figures are strongly delineated; the language is nervous and elegant, though somewhat obscure, through an affectation of antiquated phrases; and the versification is harmonious and flowing. But the thin allegory is every where seen through; the images are frequently coarse: and the extravagant manners of chivalry, which the author has faithfully copied, conspire to render his romantic fictions little interesting to the classical reader, whatever pleasure they may afford to the antiquary; while the disgust of the critic is completed by an absurd compound of Heathen and Christian mythology. He throws aside the poem with indignation, considered in its whole extent, after making every allowance for its not being finished, as a performance truly Gothic; but he admires particular passages: he adores the bewitching fancy of Spenser, but laments his want of taste, and loaths his too-often indelicate and ill-wrought allegories.

Shakspeare, the other luminary of the virgin-reign, and the father of our drama, was more happy in his line of composition. Though unacquainted, as is generally believed, with the dramatic laws, or with any model worthy of his imitation, he has, by a bold delineation of general nature, and by adopting the solemn mythology of the North, witches, fairies, and ghosts, been able to affect the human mind more strongly than any other poet.—By studying only the heart of man, his tragic scenes come directly to the heart; and by copying manners, undisguised by fashion, his comic humour is for ever new. Let us not how-

ever conclude that the three unities (time, place, and action or plot) dictated by reason and Aristotle, are unnecessary to the perfection of a dramatic poem, because Shakspeare, by the mere superiority of his genius, has been able to please, both in the closet and on the stage, without observing them.

Theatrical representation is *perfect* in proportion as it is *natural*: and that the observance of the unities contributes to render it so, will be disputed by no critic who understands the principles on which they are founded. A dramatic performance, in which the unities are observed, must therefore be best calculated for *representation*; and consequently for obtaining its end, if otherwise well constructed, by exciting mirth or awakening sorrow. Even Shakspeare's scenes would have acquired double force, had they proceeded in an unbroken succession, from the opening to the close of every act. Then indeed the scene may be shifted to a distance consistent with probability, and any portion of time may elapse between the acts, not destructive of the unity of the fable, without impairing the effect of the representation, or disturbing the dream of reality; for, as the modern drama is interrupted four times, which seem necessary for the relief of the mind, there can be no reason for confining the scene to the same spot during the whole play, or the time exactly to that of the representation, as in the Grecian theatre, where the actors, or at least the chorus, did not leave the stage before the close of the piece.

The reign of James I. was distinguished by the labours of many eminent authors, both in prose and verse, but, in the writings of any of them, a good taste was scarcely discernible. That propensity to false wit and superfluous ornament, of which we so frequently have occasion to complain in the writings of Shakspeare, and which seems as inseparably connected with the revival, as simplicity is with the origin of letters, infected the whole nation. The pun was common in the pulpit, and the quibble was propagated from the throne. Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*, however, Raleigh's *History of the World*, and the translation of the Bible now in use, are striking proofs of the improvement of our language, and of the progress of English prose.

If we except the translation of Tasso by Fairfax, and some of the tragic scenes of Fletcher, the style of none of the poets of this reign can be mentioned with entire approbation. Jonson, though born with a vein of genuine humour, perfectly acquainted with the ancient classics, and possessed of sufficient taste to relish their beauties, was a rude mechanical writer:—and the poems of Drayton, who was endowed with a fertile ge-

nus, with great facility of expression, and a happy descriptive talent, are thickly bespangled with all the splendid faults in composition.

As an example of Drayton's best manner, which is little known, I shall give an extract from the sixth book of his *Barons' Wars*.

" Now waxing late, and after all these things,
 " Unto her chamber is the queen withdrawn 12,
 " To whom a choice musician plays and sings,
 " Reposing her upon a *state* of lawn,
 " In night-attire divinely glittering,
 " As the approaching of the cheerful dawn ;
 " Leaning upon the breast of Mortimer,
 " Whose voice more than the music pleas'd her ear.

" Where her fair breasts at liberty are let,
 " Where *violet-veins* in *curious branches* flow ;
 " Where Venus' swans and milky doves are set,
 " Upon the swelling mounts of *driven snow* 13 ;
 " Where Love, whilst he to sport himself doth get,
 " Hath lost his course, nor finds which way to go,
 " Inclosed in this labyrinth about,
 " Where let him wander still, yet ne'er get out.

" Her loose gold hair, O gold thou art too base !
 " Were it not sin to name those silk threads hair,
 " Declining as to kiss her fairer face ?
 " But no word's fair enough for thing so fair.
 " O what high wond'rous epithet can grace
 " Or give due praises to a thing so rare ?
 " But where the pen fails, pencil cannot show it,
 " Nor can't be known, unless the mind do know it.

" She lays those *fingers* on his manly cheek,
 " The god's pure *sceptres*, and the *darts of love* !
 " Which with a *touch* might make a *tiger meek*,
 " Or the main Atlas from his place remove :

12 Isabella of France, widow of Edward II. of England.

13 Perhaps the ingenious tracers of *Poetical Imitation* may discover a resemblance between those glowing verses and two lines in Mr. Hayley's justly admired sonnet, in the *Triumphs of Temper* :

" A bosom, where the *blue meand'ring vein*
 " Sheds a soft lustre through the *lucid snow*."

And it will not require microscopic eyes to discover whence Mr. Gray caught the idea of the finest image in his celebrated historic Ode, after reading the following lines of Drayton :

" *Berkeley*, whose fair seat hath been famous long,
 " Let thy fair *buildings shriek* a *deadly sound*,
 " And to the air complain thy grievous wrong,
 " *Kreeping* the *figure* of king Edward's *wound*."

Baron's Wars. book v.

“ So soft, so feeling, delicate, and sleek,
 “ As nature wore the *lilies* for a glove!
 “ As might beget life where was never none,
 “ And put a *spirit* into the *flintiest* stone 14 !”

Daniel, the poetical rival of Drayton, affected to write with greater purity; but he was by no means free from the bad taste of his age, as will appear by a single stanza of his *Civil War*, a poem seemingly written in emulation of the *Barons' Wars*.

“ O War ! begot in pride and luxury,
 “ The child of Malice and revengeful Hate!
 “ Thou *impious-good*, and *good impity*,
 “ Thou art the ~~FOUL~~-refiner of a state!
 “ *Unjust-just* scourge of men's iniquity!
 “ *Sharp* cuser of corruptious desperate!
 “ Is there no means, but that a *sin-sick* land
 “ Must be *let blood* by such a boisterous hand?”

During the tranquil part of the reign of Charles I. good taste began to gain ground. Charles himself was a competent judge of literature, a chaste writer, and a patron of the liberal arts. Vandyke was caressed at court, and Inigo Jones was encouraged to plan those public edifices, which do so much honour to his memory; while Lawes, and other eminent composers in the service of the king, set to manly music some of the finest English verses. But that spirit of faction and fanaticism, which subverted all law and order, and terminated in the ruin of the church and monarchy, obstructed the progress of letters, and prevented the arts from attaining the height to which they seemed to be hastening, or the manners from receiving the degree of polish, which they must soon have acquired, in the brilliant assemblies and public festivals of two persons of such elegant accomplishments as the king and queen.

Of the independents, and other bold fanatics, who rose on the ruins of the church, and flourished under the commonwealth, I have formerly had occasion to speak, in tracing the progress of Cromwell's ambition. But one visionary sect, by reason of its detachment from civil and military affairs, has hitherto escaped my notice; namely, the singular but respectable body of Quakers. The founder of this famous sect was one George Fox, born at Drayton in Leicestershire, in 1624, the son of a weaver, and bred a shoemaker. Being naturally of a melancholy disposition, and having early acquired an enthusiastic turn of mind, he abandoned his mechanical profession, and broke off all con-

14 Who can read these animated stanzas, and not be filled with indignation at the arrogant remark of Warburton?—“ Selden did not disclaim even to commend a *very ordinary poet*, one Michael Drayton !” Pref. to his edit. of Shakspeare.

nexion with his friends and family, about the year 1647, when every ignorant fanatic imagined he could invent a new system of religion or government; and delivering himself wholly up to spiritual contemplations, he wandered through the country cloathed in a leathern doublet, avoiding all attachments and frequently passed whole days and nights in woods and gloomy caverns, without any other companion than his Bible. At length believing himself filled with the same divine inspiration or *inward light*, which had guided the writers of that sacred book, he considered all external helps as unnecessary, and thought only of illuminating the breasts of others, by awakening that *hidden-spark* of the Divinity, which, according to the doctrine of the mystics, dwells in the hearts of all men.

Proselytes were easily gained, in those days of general fanaticism, to a doctrine so flattering to human pride. Fox accordingly soon found himself surrounded by a number of disciples of both sexes; who conceiving themselves actuated by a divine impulse, ran like Bacchanals through the towns and villages, declaiming against every fixed form of worship, and affronting the clergy in the very exercise of their religious functions. Even the women, forgetting the delicacy and decency befitting their character, bore a part in these disorders; and one female convert, more shameless than her sisters, went *stark naked* into Whitehall chapel, during the public service, when Cromwell was present, being moved by the spirit, she said, to appear *as a sign to the people*¹⁵.

But of all these new fanatics, who were sometimes thrown into prisons, sometimes into mad-houses, the most extravagant was James Naylor, a man of talents, who had been an officer in the parliamentary army, and was one of the first encouragers of George Fox. Elate with the success of his eloquence, in which he excelled all his brethren, and flattered with a resemblance between his own features and the common pictures of Jesus Christ, he fancied himself transformed into the Saviour of the World. He accordingly assumed the character of the Messiah, and was blasphemously styled by his followers, the *Prince of Peace*, the *only begotten Son of God*, the *fairest among ten thousand*!—Conformably to that character, he pretended to heal the sick, and raise the dead. Women eagerly ministered unto him: and, in the pride of his heart, he triumphantly entered Bristol on horseback, attended by a crowd of his admirers of both sexes, who spread their garments and strewed flowers before him, exclaiming with a loud voice, “Hosanna to the Highest! holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth¹⁶.” For this impious procession he was committed to prison by the magistrates, and after-

¹⁵ Neale's Hist. of the Puritans.

¹⁶ Life and Trial of Naylor.

ward sent to London, where he was severely punished by the parliament, and thus restored to the right use of his understanding. But what in this romantic instance of fanatical extravagance, chiefly merits attention, is, that the heads of the great council of the nation passed ten days in deliberating, whether they should consider Naylor as an impostor, a maniac, or a man divinely inspired¹⁷.

Fox and his disciples, while under the influence of that enthusiastic fury, which, beside other irregularities, prompted them to deliver their supposed inspirations without regard to time, place, or circumstances, were often so copiously filled with the spirit, that, like the priestess of the Delphic god, they were violently agitated in pouring it out, and visibly *quaked*; a circumstance which contributed to confirm the belief of their being actuated by a divine impulse, and procured them the name of *Quakers*, by which they are still known, though they call themselves Friends. But these wild transports soon subsided, and the quakers became, as at present, a decent and orderly set of men, distinguished only by civil and religious peculiarities, which are of sufficient importance to merit our notice in tracing the progress of society, and delineating the history of the human mind.

All the peculiarities of the quakers, both spiritual and moral, are the immediate consequences of their fundamental principle; "that they who endeavour by self-converse and contemplation to kindle *that spark of heavenly wisdom which lies concealed in the minds of all men* (and is supposed to *blaze* in the breast of every quaker), will feel a divine glow, behold an effusion of light, and hear a celestial voice, proceeding from the inmost recesses of their souls! leading them to all truth, and assuring them of their union with the Supreme Being¹⁸." Thus consecrated in their own imagination, the members of this sect reject the use of prayers, hymns, and the various outward forms of devotion, by which the public worship of other Christians is distinguished. They neither observe festivals, use external ceremonies, nor suffer religion to be fettered with positive institutions; contemptuously slighting even baptism and the Lord's supper, by all other sects believed to be interwoven with the vitals of Christianity. They assemble, however, once a week, on the day appropriated by the generality of Christians to the celebration of divine worship; but without any priest, or public teacher. All the members of the community, male and female, have an equal right to speak in their meetings. "Who," say they, "will presume to exclude from the liberty of exhorting

17 Thurlow's State Papers, vol. iv.

18 Barclay's Apology, &c.

the *brethren*, any person in whom Christ dwells, and by whom he speaks?" And the *sisters* have often been found more abundantly filled with the spirit: though, on some occasions, both sexes have been so lost in self-contemplation, or destitute of internal ardour, that not a single effusion has been made. All have remained silent, or expressed their meaning only in groans, sighs, and sorrowful looks. On other occasions, many have warmly spoken at once, as if under the influence of a holy fury.

The same spiritual pride, and brotherly sense of equality, which dictated the religious system of the quakers, also govern their conduct in civil affairs. Disdaining to appear uncovered in the presence of any human being, or to express adulation or reverence by any word or motion, they reject all the forms of civility, invented by polished nations, and all the servile protestations demanded by usurping grandeur, which can have no place among the truly illuminated. They also refuse to confirm their legal testimony with an oath: a solemnity which they consider as an insult on the integrity of that Spirit of Truth, with which they believe themselves animated. A simple notice is all their homage, and a plain affirmative their strongest asseveration.

But two of the most striking peculiarities of the quakers yet remain to be noticed. In consequence of their fundamental principle, which leads to a total detachment from the senses, to a detestation of wordly vanities, and of every object that can divert the mind from internal contemplation, they studiously avoid all the garniture of dress, even to an unnecessary button or loop; all the pomp of equipage, and all the luxuries of the table. No female ornaments or varied colours of attire, among these sectaries, allure the eye; no female accomplishments, no music, no dancing incite to sensuality!—though they are now no longer so austere as formerly, when beauty in its rudest state was considered as too attractive, and the chaste endearments of conjugal love were regarded with a degree of horror!

The crowning civil peculiarity of the quakers is their pacific principle. Unambitious of dominion, and shocked at the calamities of war, and the disasters of hostile opposition, they carry the mild spirit of the Gospel to the dangerous extreme of personal *non resistance*; literally permitting the smiter of one cheek to inflict a blow on the other, and tamely yielding to the demands of rapacious violence all that it can crave! How different, in this respect, from the millenarians, and other sanguinary sectaries, who so long deluged England with blood¹⁹.

¹⁹ Even after the restoration of Charles II. a small body of the millenarians made a desperate effort to disturb the government. Rushing forth completely armed, under a daring fanatic named Venner, who had often conspired against Cromwell, and exclaiming, "No

During those times of faction and fanaticism, however, appeared many men of vast abilities. Then the force and the compass of our language were first fully tried in the public papers of the king and parliament, and in the bold eloquence of the leaders of the two parties. Then was roused, in political and theological controversy, the vigorous genius of John Milton, which afterward broke forth with so much lustre in the poem of *Paradise Lost*, unquestionably the greatest effort of human imagination. No poet, ancient or modern, is so sublime in his conceptions as Milton; and few have ever equalled him in boldness of description or strength of expression. Yet let us not, in blind idolatry, allow him the honour, which he seems to arrogate to himself, and which has seldom been denied him, of being the inventor of our blank verse. In the tragedies of Shakspeare are several passages as harmonious as any in the *Paradise Lost*, and as elegantly correct: though it must be admitted, that Milton invented that variety of pause, which renders English blank verse peculiarly proper for the heroic fable; where rhyme, how well soever constructed, is apt to cloy the ear by its monotony, and weaken the vigour of the versification, by the necessity of finding final words of similar sounds.

The truth of this remark is fully exemplified in the *Davideis* of Cowley; a work by no means destitute of merit in other respects. In favour of the smaller poems of this author, which were long much admired for their far fetched metaphysical conceits, little can be said, although they are occasionally distinguished by that vigour of thought and expression peculiar to the troubled times in which he wrote—those that immediately preceded and followed the death of Charles I. He thus begins an Ode to Liberty:

“FREEDOM with Virtue takes her seat:
 “ Her proper place, her only scene,
 “ Is in the golden mean.
 “ She lives not with the Poor, nor with the Great;
 “ The wings of *those* Necessity has clipt,
 “ And they’re in Fortune’s Bridewell whipt
 “ To the laborious task of bread;
 “ *These* are by various tyrants captive led.
 “ Now wild Ambition, with imperious force,
 “ Rides, reins, and spurs them, like th’ unruly horse;
 “ And servile Avarice yokes them now,
 “ Like toilsome oxen, to the plough;
 “ And sometimes Lust, like the *misguiding light*,
 “ Draws them through all the labyrinths of night.”

But although the English tongue, during the civil wars, had acquired all the strength of which it is capable, it still wanted

King but CHRIST!” they triumphantly paraded the streets of London for some hours; and before they could be fully mastered, as they fought not only with courage but concert, many lives were lost. Burnet’s Hist. of his own Times, book ii.

much of that delicacy which characterises the language of a polished people, and which it has now so fully attained. Waller, whose taste had been formed under the first Charles, and who wrote during the brightest days of the second, is one of the chief refiners of our versification, as well as language. Of this refinement the following elegant lines, compared with those of any of our preceding poets, will furnish sufficient proof. They contain a wish of being transported to the Bermudas, or *Summer Islands*.

“ Oh how I long my careless limbs to lay
 “ Under the plantain’s shade ! and all the day
 “ With amorous airs my fancy entertain,
 “ Invoke the Muses, and improve my vein.
 “ No passion there in my free breast shall move,
 “ None but the sweetest, best of passions, love !
 “ There will I sing, if gentle Love be by,
 “ That tunes my lute, and winds the strings so high,
 “ With the sweet sound of Saccharissa’s name
 “ I’ll make the listening savages grow tame.”

Waller was followed in his poetical walk by Dryden, who united sweetness with energy, and carried English rhyme in all its varieties to a high degree of perfection ; while Lee, whose dramatic talent was great, introduced into blank verse that solemn pomp of sound, which was long much affected by our modern tragic poets ; and the pathetic Otway (to whom Lee seems to stand in the same relation as Sophocles does to Euripides or Corneille to Racine) brought tragedy down to the level of domestic life, and exemplified that simplicity of versification and expression which is so well suited to the language of the tender passions. But Otway, in other respects, is by no means so chaste a writer ; nor was the reign of Charles II., though it was adorned by so many men of genius, the æra either of good taste or elegant manners in England.

Charles himself was a man of social temper, of an easy address, and a lively and animated conversation. His courtiers partook much of the character of their prince : they were chiefly men of the world, and many of them were distinguished by their wit, gallantry, and spirit. But having all experienced the insolence of pious tyranny, or been exposed to the neglect of poverty, they had imbibed, under the pressure of adversity, the most libertine opinions both in regard to religion and morals.—And in greedily enjoying their good fortune after the Restoration ; in retaliating selfishness, and contrasting the language and manners of hypocrisy, they shamefully violated the laws of decency. Exulting in the king’s return, the whole royal party dissolved in thoughtless jollity ; and even many of the republicans, especially the younger sort and the women, were glad to be released from the gloomy austerity of the commonwealth.—A general relaxation of manners took place. Pleasure became

the universal object, and love the prevailing taste. But that love was rather an appetite than a passion; and though the ladies sacrificed freely to it, they were never able to inspire their paramours either with sentiment or delicacy.

The same want of delicacy is observable in the literary productions of this reign. Even those intended for the stage, with very few exceptions, are shockingly licentious and indecent, as well as disfigured by extravagance and folly. Nor were the painters more chaste than the poets. Nymphs bathing, or voluptuously reposing on the verdant sod, were the common objects of the pencil. Even the female portraits of sir Peter Lely, naked and languishing, are more calculated to provoke loose desire, than to impress the mind with any idea of the respectable qualities of the ladies they were intended to represent. It may therefore be seriously questioned, whether the dissolute, though comparatively polished manners of this once reputed Augustan age, were not more hurtful to literature and the liberal arts in England, than the cant and fanaticism of the preceding period.

A better taste in literature, however, began to discover itself in the latter productions of Dryden; the greater part of whose Fables, *Absalom and Ahithophel*, *Alexander's Feast*, and several other pieces, written toward the close of the seventeenth century, are justly considered, notwithstanding some negligences, as the most masterly poetical compositions in our language. The same good taste extended itself to a sister art. Purcell, the celebrated author of the *Orpheus Britannicus*, set the principal lyric, and the airs in two of the dramatic pieces of Dryden, to music worthy of the poetry.

Dryden, during his latter years, also greatly excelled in prose; to which he gave an ease and energy, not to be found united in Clarendon or Temple, the two most celebrated prose writers of that age. Clarendon's words are well chosen and happily arranged; but his spirit is frequently lost (and even his sense sometimes disappears) in the bewildering length of his periods. The style of Temple, though easy and flowing, wants force. The sermons, or Christian orations of archbishop Tillotson, have great merit, both in regard to style and matter.—Dryden considered Tillotson as his master in prose composition.

The sciences made greater progress in England, during the course of the seventeenth century, than polite literature. Early in the reign of James I., sir Francis Bacon, who is justly considered, on account of the extent and variety of his talents, as one of the most extraordinary men that any nation ever produced, broke through the scholastic obscurity of the age, like the sun from behind a cloud, and showed mankind the necessity

of thinking for themselves, in order to become truly learned.—He began with taking a view of the various objects of human knowledge : he divided these objects into classes, examined what was already known in each of them, and drew up an immense catalogue of what yet remained to be discovered. He then showed the necessity of experimental physics, and of reasoning experimentally on moral subjects. If he did not himself greatly enlarge the bounds of any particular science, he was not less usefully employed in breaking the fetters of false philosophy, and conducting the lovers of truth to the proper method of cultivating the whole circle of the sciences.

That liberal spirit of inquiry which Bacon had awakened, soon communicated itself to his countrymen. Harvey, by reasoning alone, without any mixture of accident, discovered the *circulation* of the *blood* ; and he had the happiness of establishing this capital discovery, during the reign of Charles I., by the most solid and convincing proofs. Posterity has added little to the arguments suggested by his industry and ingenuity.

Soon after the Restoration, the *Royal Society* was founded ; and its members, in a few years, made many important discoveries in mathematics and natural philosophy, in which Wilkins, Wallis and Boyle, had a great share. Nor were the other branches of science neglected. Hobbes, already distinguished by his writings, continued to unfold the principles of policy and morals with a bold but impious freedom. He represents man as naturally cruel, insocial, and unjust. His system, which was highly admired during the reign of Charles II. as it favours both tyranny and licentiousness, is now deservedly consigned to oblivion ; but his language and his manner of reasoning are still held in estimation.

Shaftesbury, naturally of a benevolent temper, shocked with the debasing principles of Hobbes, and captivated with the generous visions of Plato, brought to light an enchanting system of morals, which every friend to humanity would wish to be true. And what is no small matter toward its confirmation, if it has not always obtained the approbation of the *wise*, it has seldom failed to conciliate the assent of the *good* ; who are generally willing to believe, that the Divinity has implanted in the human breast a sense of right and wrong, independent of religion or custom ; and that virtue is naturally as pleasing to the heart of man as beauty to his eye.

While Shaftesbury was conceiving that amiable theory of ethics, according to which *beauty* and *good* are united in the natural as well as in the moral world, which embroiders with brighter colours the robe of spring, and gives music to the autumnal blast ; which reconciles man to the greatest calamities,

from a conviction that all is ordered for the best, at the same time that it makes him enjoy with more sincere satisfaction the gifts of fortune, and the pleasures of society; Newton, surpassing all former astronomers, surveyed more fully, and established by demonstration that *harmonious* system of the universe, which had been discovered by Copernicus; and Locke, no less wonderful in his walk, untwisted the chain of human ideas, developed the process of thought, and opened a vista into the mysterious regions of the mind.

The philosophy of Newton, founded on experiment and demonstration, can never be sufficiently admired; and it particularly merits the attention of every gentleman, as an unacquaintance with the principle of *gravitation*, or with the theory of *light* and *colours*, would be sufficient to stamp an indelible mark of ignorance on the most respectable character. But the discovery of Locke, though now familiar—that all our *IDEAS* are *acquired* by *sensation* and *reflection*, and, consequently, that we *brought none into the world with us*—has a more serious influence upon the opinions of mankind. It has not only rendered our reasonings concerning the *operations* of the human understanding more distinct, but has also induced us to reason concerning the nature of the *mind* itself, and its various powers and properties. In a word, it has served to introduce an universal system of scepticism, which has shaken every principle of religion and morals.

But the same philosophy which has unwisely called in question the divine origin of Christianity, and even the hinge on which it rests, the immortality of the soul; that philosophy which has endeavoured to cut off from man the hope of heaven, has happily contributed to render his earthly habitation as comfortable as possible. It has turned its researches, with an inquisitive eye, towards every object that can be made subservient to the ease, pleasure, or convenience of life. Commerce and manufactures, government and police, have equally excited its attention. The arts, both useful and ornamental, have been disseminated over Europe, in consequence of this new manner of philosophising; and have all, unless we should perhaps except sculpture, been carried to a higher degree of perfection than in any former period in the history of the human race. Even here, however, an evil is discerned:—and where may not evils, either real or imaginary, be found? Commerce and the arts are supposed to have introduced luxury and effeminacy. But a certain degree of luxury is necessary to give activity to a state; and philosophers have not yet ascertained where true refinement ends, and effeminacy, or vicious luxury, begins.

LETTER XX.

A general View of the Affairs of Europe, from the Peace of Ryswick to the Grand Alliance, in 1701.

AS we approach toward our own times, the materials of history become much more abundant; and, as a more discriminating selection is therefore necessary, to preserve the memory from fatigue, I shall endeavour to throw into shade all unproductive negotiations and intrigues, as well as unimportant events, and to comprehend under one view the general transactions of Europe during the ensuing busy period.— Happily the negotiations in regard to the Spanish succession, and the war in which so many of the great powers of the South and West afterward engaged, in consequence of that great dispute, are highly favourable to this design. In like manner, the affairs of the North and the East are simplified, by the long and bloody contest between Charles XII. and Peter the Great; so that I hope to be able to bring forward, without confusion, the whole at once to the eye.

The first object that engaged the general attention of Europe after the peace of Ryswick, was the settlement of the Spanish succession. The declining health of Charles II., a prince who had long been in a languishing condition, and whose death was daily expected, gave new spirit to the intrigues of the competitors for his crown. These competitors were Louis XIV., the emperor Leopold, and the elector of Bavaria. Louis and the emperor were in the same degree of consanguinity to Charles, both being grandsons of Philip III. The dauphin and the emperor's eldest son Joseph, king of the Romans, had therefore a double claim. their mothers being daughters of Philip IV. The right of birth was in the house of Bourbon, the king and the dauphin being both descended from the eldest daughters of Spain; but the imperial family asserted, in support of their claim, beside the solemn and ratified renunciations (by Louis XIII. and XIV.) of all title to the Spanish succession, the blood of Maximilian, the common parent of both branches of the house of Austria—the right of male representation. The elector claimed, as the husband of an archduchess, the only surviving child of the emperor Leopold, by the infanta Margaret, second daughter of Philip IV., who had declared HER descendants the heirs of his crown, in preference to those of his eldest daughter, Maria Theresa; so that the son of the elector, in default of issue by Charles II., was entitled to the

whole Spanish succession, unless the testament of Philip, and the renunciation of Maria Theresa, on her marriage with the French monarch, were set aside.

Beside these legal titles to inheritance, the general interests of Europe required that the electoral prince of Bavaria should succeed to the Spanish monarchy. But his two competitors were obstinate in their claims; the elector was unable to contend with either of them; and the king of England, though sufficiently disposed to preserve the balance of power, was in no condition to begin a new war. From a laudable, but perhaps too violent, jealousy of liberty, the English parliament had passed a vote, soon after the peace of Ryswick, for reducing the army to seven thousand men, and had ordered that these should be *native subjects*¹; in consequence of which, when supported by a bill, the king, to his great mortification, was obliged to dismiss even his Dutch guards.

Thus circumstanced, William was ready to listen to any terms calculated to continue the repose of Europe. Louis though better provided for war, was no less peaceably disposed; and, sensible that any attempt to treat with the emperor would be ineffectual, he proposed to the king of England a partition of the Spanish dominions, at the same time that he sent the marquis d'Harcourt, as his ambassador to the court of Madrid, with a view of procuring the whole. Leopold also sent an ambassador into Spain, where intrigues were carried high on both sides. The body of the Spanish nation favoured the lineal succession of the house of Bourbon; but the queen, who was a German princess, and who, by means of her creatures, governed both the king and the kingdom, supported the pretensions of the emperor; and all the *grandees*, connected with the court, were in the same interest.

Meanwhile a treaty of partition was signed, through the temporising policy of William and Louis, by England, Holland, and France. In this treaty it was stipulated, that, on the eventual demise of the king of Spain, his dominions should be divided in the following manner. Spain, her American empire, and the sovereignty of the Netherlands, were assigned to the prince of Bavaria; to the dauphin, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, the ports on the Tuscan shore, and the marquisate of Final, in Italy; and, in Spain, the province of Guipuscoa, with all the Spanish territories on this side of the Pyrenées, or of the mountains of Navarre, Alava, and Biscay. To Charles, the emperor's second son, was allotted the dukedom of Milan².

¹ Journals, Dec. 16, 1698.

² De Torey, vol. i.—Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xvi.

The contracting powers mutually engaged to keep the treaty of partition a profound secret during the life of the king of Spain. But that condition, though necessary, could not easily be observed. As the avowed design of the alliance was the preservation of the repose of Europe, it became expedient to communicate the treaty to the emperor, and to gain his consent to a negotiation, which deprived him of the great object of his ambition. This difficult task was undertaken by William, from a persuasion of his own influence with Leopold. In the mean time, intelligence of the treaty was privately conveyed from Holland to Madrid. The Spanish ministry were filled with indignation, at finding a division of their monarchy made by foreigners, even during the life of their sovereign. The king immediately called an extraordinary council, to deliberate on so unprecedented a transaction; and the result, contrary to all expectation, but conformable to the laws of sound policy, was a will of Charles II., constituting the electoral prince of Bavaria his sole heir, according to the testamentary intentions of Philip IV³.

The king of Spain recovered in some degree from his illness, and the hopes and fears of Europe were suspended for a time. Meanwhile England and Holland had reason to be pleased with the will, as it was more favourable to a general balance of power than the partition treaty; but the sudden death of A. D. 1699. the prince of Bavaria, not without strong suspicions of poison, revived their apprehensions. Louis and William again negotiated; and a second treaty of partition was privately signed, by England, Holland, and France. A. D. 1700. notwithstanding the violent remonstrances of the court of Madrid against such a measure.

By this treaty it was agreed, that, on the eventual decease of Charles II. without issue, Spain and her American dominions should descend to Leopold's son Charles; that the dauphin's share should be nearly the same with the former assignment; and that the duke of Lorrain, ceding his territories to the dauphin, should enjoy the sovereignty of the Milanese. To prevent the conjunction of Spain and the imperial crown in the person of ONE prince, provision was made, that, in case of the death of the king of the Romans, the archduke Charles, if raised to that dignity, should not succeed to the Spanish throne. It was also stipulated, that no dauphin or king of France should ever wear the crown of Spain; and a secret article provided against the contingency of the emperor's refusing to accede to the treaty, as well as against any difficulties that might arise, in regard to the exchange proposed to the duke of Lorrain⁴.

3 Voltaire, *ibid*.

4 De Torey, vol. i.

From thus providing for the repose of the South of Europe, the attention of William was suddenly called toward the North, where two of the most extraordinary men that ever appeared upon the stage of human life, were rising into notice; Peter I. of Russia, and Charles XII. of Sweden. But, before I take a survey of the conduct of these celebrated princes, a short retrospect will be necessary for the purpose of connecting the history of their reigns with my former communications relative to the affairs of the North.

The general government of the czar Alexis was honourable to himself and beneficial to his country, though he was not free from a tincture of cruelty and barbarism. He reformed the laws of Russia, encouraged commerce, improved the condition of his subjects, patronised the arts, and rendered the nation more respectable and dignified in the eye of the world. He recovered Smolensko, and other important places which had been taken by the Polanders, of whose claims of dominion over the Cossacks he also obtained a transfer. The grand signor, Mohammed IV., jealous of the power which the czar had thus acquired, endeavoured to subdue the Cossack tribes: and he met with some success in his efforts; but his career was at length checked by the united arms of Poland and Russia.

Theodore the eldest son and successor of Alexis, was not so imbecile in mind as he was weak in body; and, during his short reign, he consulted the interest, of the community, showed himself superior to idle prejudice, and paved the way for future improvements. "He lived," says Sumarokoff, "the joy and delight of his people, and died amidst their sighs and tears.—On the day of his decease, Moscow was in the same state of distress which Rome felt at the death of Titus."

The obvious incapacity of John, the brother of Theodore, suggested to the aspiring mind of his sister Sophia the idea of procuring for herself the effective sovereignty. No sooner had the popular czar resigned his breath, in 1682, than this princess took a very active part in the contest for power. Theodore had named his half-brother Peter for his successor: and the friends of this young prince (who was then only ten years of age) zealously laboured to enforce that appointment. Sophia, in the mean time, secured the barbarous aid of the Strelitzes, who put to death many of the chief partisans of her step-brother; and the weak John was proclaimed czar. But, as he expressed a wish that Peter should be joined with him in the sovereignty, Sophia and her military supporters agreed to this compromise, on condition of her being declared co-regent. She and her favourite Galitzan now ruled without control; but their adminis-

tration was not so just or so patriotic as to secure the strong attachment of the boyars or the people, the greater part of whom, observing the promising genius of young Peter, wished to have him for their sole sovereign. The mismanagement and ill success of a war with the Turks tended to increase the public discontent; and, when Peter had reached the age of seventeen, he was enabled to subvert the power of the obnoxious Sophia, by whose machinations his life was endangered. He confined her in a nunnery, and banished Galitzan to a distant part of the empire. John continued to bear the title of czar; but he was a mere pageant, and a cypher in the state.

Frederic III. of Denmark, the contemporary of Alexis, had distinguished his reign by the introduction of absolute monarchy, to which his people were willing to submit, rather than groan under aristocratic oppression. In a regular national assembly (in 1661), the clergy and the commons voted for the surrender of their liberties to the king; and the intimidated nobles reluctantly concurred in that extraordinary resolution.—This was a bad precedent; but Frederic did not, in general, make an improper use of the indulgence. This prince was succeeded, in 1670, by Christian V., whose desire of humbling the Swedes led him into a war with that nation. Great valour was displayed on both sides, by sea as well as by land. Charles XI. then filled the Swedish throne; and, though he was at the same time embroiled with the emperor, the elector of Brandenburg, and the Dutch, he defended his dominions with ability and success. After the restoration of peace, he employed himself in the acquisition of arbitrary power, and became a tyrannical and rapacious monarch. He died in 1697, two years before Christian, leaving (by the sister of the Danish king) the prince who was afterward styled the Alexander of the North.

The young czar Peter had already rendered himself formidable by the defeat of the Turks, in 1696, and the taking of Azoph, which opened to him the dominion of the Black Sea. This acquisition led to more extensive views. He resolved to make Russia the centre of trade between Europe and Asia; to connect the Dwina, the Wolga, and the Don, by means of canals; and thus to open a passage from the Baltic to the Euxine and Caspian seas, and from these seas to the Northern Ocean⁵. The port of Archangel, frozen up for the greater part of the year, and which cannot be entered without a long, circuitous, and dangerous passage, he did not think sufficiently commodious; he therefore resolved to build a city upon the Baltic Sea, which

⁵ *Histoire de Russie*, par Voltaire, vol. i. composed from the most authentic materials, chiefly furnished by the court of Petersburg.

should become the magazine of the North, and the capital of his extensive empire.

Several princes, before this illustrious barbarian, disgusted with the pursuits of ambition, or weary of the burthen of public affairs, had renounced their crowns, and taken refuge in the shade of indolence, or of philosophical retirement; but history affords no example of a sovereign who had divested himself of the royal character, in order to learn the art of governing better; this was a stretch of magnanimity reserved for Peter the Great. Though almost destitute himself of education, he discovered, by the natural force of his genius, and a few conversations with strangers, his own rude state and the savage condition of his subjects. He resolved to become worthy of the character of a MAN, to see men, and to have men to govern. Animated by the noble ambition of acquiring instruction, and of carrying back to his people the improvements of other nations, he quitted his dominions in 1698, as a private gentleman in the retinue of three ambassadors, whom he sent to different courts of Europe.

As soon as Peter arrived at Amsterdam, which was the first place that particularly attracted his notice, he applied himself to the study of commerce and the mechanical arts: and, to acquire the art of ship-building, he entered himself as a carpenter, in one of the principal dock-yards, and laboured and lived, in all respects, as the common journeymen. At his leisure hours he studied natural philosophy, navigation, fortification, surgery, and such other sciences as might be necessary to the sovereign of a barbarous people. From Holland he passed over to England, where he perfected himself in the art of ship-building.—King William, in order to gain his favour, entertained him with a naval review, made him a present of an elegant yacht, and permitted him to engage in his service a number of ingenious artificers. Thus instructed, and attended by several men of science, Peter returned to Russia through Germany and Poland, in the summer of 1699, with all the useful, and many of the ornamental arts in his train⁶.

The peace of Carlowitz, concluded before the return of the czar, seemed to afford him full leisure for the prosecution of those plans which he had formed for the civilisation of his subjects. But he was ambitious of the reputation and the fortune of a conqueror. The art of war was a new art, which it was necessary to teach his people; and valuable acquisitions, he thought, might easily be obtained, by joining the kings of Poland and Denmark against young Charles of Sweden. Beside, he wanted a port on the eastern shore of the Baltic, in order to

facilitate the execution of his commercial schemes. He therefore resolved to make himself master of the province of Ingria, which lies to the north-east of Livonia, and had formerly been in possession of his ancestors. With this view, he entered into a league against Sweden with Frederic Augustus, elector of Saxony, who had succeeded the famous Sobieski on the throne of Poland. The war was begun by Frederic IV., king of Denmark, who, contrary to the faith of treaties, invaded the territories of the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, brother-in-law to Charles XII.

In these ambitious projects the hostile princes were encouraged by the youth and inexperience of the king of Sweden, and by the little estimation in which he was held by foreign courts.—Charles, however, suddenly gave the lie to public opinion, by discovering the greatest talents for war, accompanied with the most enterprising and heroic spirit. No sooner did the occasion call, than his bold genius began to show itself. Instead of being disconcerted at the intelligence of the powerful confederacy which had been formed against him, he seemed rather to rejoice at the opportunity which it would afford him of displaying his courage. Meanwhile he did not neglect the necessary preparations or precautions. He renewed the alliance of Sweden with England and Holland: and he sent an army into Pomerania, to be ready to support the duke of Holstein.

On Holstein the storm first fell. The Danes, led by the duke of Wirtemberg, and encouraged by the presence of their sovereign, invaded that dutchy; and after taking some inconsiderable places, invested Toningen, while the Russians, Poles, May. and Saxons, entered Livonia and Ingria. The moment Charles was informed of the invasion of Holstein, he resolved to carry war into the kingdom of Denmark. He accordingly left his capital, never more to return thither, and embarked with his troops at Carlsroon, having appointed an extraordinary council, chosen from the senate, to regulate affairs during his absence. The Swedish fleet was joined at the mouth of the sound by a combined squadron of English and Dutch men of war, which William, both as king of England and stadtholder of Holland, had sent to the assistance of his ally. The Danish fleet, unable to face the enemy, retired under the guns of Copenhagen, which was bombarded; and the king of Denmark, who had failed in his attempt upon Toningen, was himself cooped up in Holstein, by some Swedish frigates cruising on the coast.

In this critical season, the enterprising spirit of the young king of Sweden suggested to him the means of finishing the

war at a blow. He proposed to besiege Copenhagen by land, while the combined fleet blocked it up by sea. The idea was admired by all his generals, and the necessary preparations were made for a descent. The king himself, eager to reach the shore, leaped into the sea, sword in hand, where the water rose above his middle. His example was followed by all his officers and soldiers, who quickly put to flight the troops that attempted to oppose the debarkation. Charles, who had never before been present at a general discharge of musquets loaded with ball, asked a British officer, who stood near him, what occasioned that whistling which he heard. Being informed that it was the sound of the bullets, the king exclaimed, "This shall henceforth be my music!"

The citizens of Copenhagen, filled with consternation, sent a deputation to Charles beseeching him not to bombard the town. He on horseback received the deputies at the head of his regiment of guards. They fell on their knees before him; and he granted their request, on their agreeing to pay him four hundred thousand rix-dollars. In the mean time, the king of Denmark was in the most perilous situation; pressed by land on one side, and confined by sea on the other. The Swedes were in the heart of his dominions, and his capital and his fleet were both ready to fall into their hands. He could derive no hopes but from negotiation and submission. The king of England offered his mediation: the French ambassador also interposed his good offices; and a treaty, highly honourable to Charles, was concluded at Travendahl, between Denmark, Sweden, and Holstein, to the exclusion of Russia and Poland⁹.

While William was in this manner securing the peace of foreign nations, the most violent discontents prevailed in one of his own kingdoms. The Scots, in consequence of an act of parliament, agreeable to powers granted by the king to his commissioner, and confirmed by letters patent under the great seal, for establishing a company trading to Africa and the West Indies, with very extensive privileges, and an exemption from all duties for twenty-one years, had planted, in 1698, a colony on the isthmus of Darien, and founded a settlement, to which they gave the name of New Edinburgh. The whole nation built on this project the most extravagant ideas of success; and in order to support it, they had subscribed four hundred thousand pounds sterling¹⁰. The situation of the settlement was well chosen: and much might have been reasonably expected from the perse-

⁸ Voltaire, ubi sup.

⁹ Hist. du Nord, tome ii.

¹⁰ Burnet, book vi.

vering and enterprising spirit of the people, animated by the hope and the love of gold.

But the promise of the future greatness of New Edinburgh, the intended capital of New Caledonia, proved its ruin. Its vicinity to Porto Bello and Carthagena, at that time the great marts of the Spaniards in America—and the possibility which its situation afforded of cutting off all communication between these and the Port of Panama on the South Sea, whither the treasures of Peru were annually conveyed—filled the court of Madrid with the most alarming apprehensions. Warm remonstrances on the subject were accordingly presented by the Spanish ambassador at the court of England. The English also became jealous of the Scottish colony. They were apprehensive that many of their planters, allured by the prospect of golden mines, with which New Caledonia was said to abound, and the hopes of robbing the Spaniards with impunity, would be induced to abandon their former habitations, and retire thither; that ships of all nations, to the great detriment of the English trade with the Spanish main, would resort to New Edinburgh, which was declared a free port; that the Buccaneers, and lawless adventurers of every denomination, would make it their principal rendezvous, as it would afford them an easy passage to the coasts of the South Sea, and, ultimately an opening to all the treasures of Mexico and Peru¹¹.

Influenced by these considerations, and afraid of a rupture with Spain, William sent secret orders to the governors of the English settlements, to hold no communication with the Scottish colony; nor, on any pretence whatsoever, to supply them with arms, ammunition, or provisions¹². Thus deprived of all support in America, and receiving but slender supplies from Europe, the miserable remnant of the Scottish settlers in Darien were obliged to surrender to the Spaniards. Never, perhaps, were any people so mortified, as the Scots at this disaster. Disappointed in their golden dreams, and beggared by their unfortunate efforts, they were inflamed with rage and indignation against William, whom they accused, in the most virulent language, of duplicity, ingratitude, and inhumanity. With proper leaders, they would perhaps have risen in arms, and have thrown off his authority.

Nor were the people of England in a much better humour. Apprehensive that the second treaty of partition might involve them in a new continental war, they loudly exclaimed against it, as an unwarrantable invasion of the rights of nations. And the powers of the continent, in general, seemed equally dissatis-

11 Burnet, book vi.

12 *Id. ibid.*

fied with that treaty. The German princes, unwilling to be concerned in any alliance which might excite the resentment of the house of Austria, were cautious and dilatory in their answers : the Italian states, alarmed at the idea of seeing France in possession of Naples and other districts in their country, showed a strong disinclination to the treaty : the duke of Savoy, in hopes of being able to barter his consent for some considerable advantage, affected a mysterious neutrality : the Swiss cantons declined acceding as guarantees ; and the emperor expressed his astonishment, that any disposal should be made of the Spanish monarchy, without the consent of the present possessor and the states of the kingdom. He therefore refused to sign the treaty, until he should know the sentiments of his Catholic majesty, on a transaction in which the interests of both were so deeply concerned ; remarking, that the contracting powers, in attempting to compel him, the *rightful heir*, to accept a *part* of his *inheritance* by a time limited, were guilty of a flagrant violation of the laws of justice and decorum¹³.

Leopold, in a word, rejected the treaty of partition, because he expected the succession to the whole Spanish monarchy ; and though Louis had signed it, in order to quiet the jealousy of his neighbours, and had engaged, with the dauphin, not to accept any will, testament, or donation, contrary to it, he was not without hopes of supplanting the emperor in that rich inheritance. The inclinations of the king of Spain pointed toward the house of Austria ; and enraged at the projected partition of his dominions, he actually nominated the archduke his universal heir. But the hearts of the Spanish nation were alienated from that house, by the arrogance of the queen and her rapacious German favourites ; and the court of Vienna took no care to conciliate their affections. On the other hand, the marquis d'Harcourt, the French ambassador, by his generosity, affability, and insinuating address, contributed greatly to remove the prejudices entertained by the Spaniards against his nation, and gained a powerful party to his master's interest at the court of Madrid¹⁴.

The Spanish grandees, as a body, were induced to favour the claims of the house of Bourbon ; but its best friends were the clergy. Cardinal Portocarrero, archbishop of Toledo, taking advantage of the superstitious weakness of his sovereign, represented to him, that France only could maintain the succession entire ; that the house of Austria was feeble and exhausted, and that any prince of that family must owe his chief support to detestable heretics. He advised his Catholic majesty, however, to consult the pope on this important subject ; and Charles, not-

13 De Torcy.—Burnet.—Voltaire. 14 De Torcy, vol. i.—Voltaire, Sicile, chap. xvi.

withstanding his sickness, wrote a letter with his own hand, desiring the opinion of that infallible judge. Of a case of conscience, Innocent XII. made an affair of state. He was sensible, that the liberties of Italy in a great measure depended upon restraining the power of the house of Austria : he therefore declared, in answer to the devout king, that the laws of Spain, and the welfare of all Christendom, required him to give the preference to the family of Bourbon. The opinion of his holiness was supported by that of the Spanish clergy; and Charles, imagining that the salvation of his soul depended on following their advice, secretly made a will in which he annulled the renunciations of Maria Theresa, and named the duke of Anjou, second son of the dauphin, as his successor in all his dominions¹⁵. The preference was given to this young prince, in order to prevent any alarm in Europe at the union of two such powerful monarchies as those of France and Spain; to preserve the Spanish monarchy entire and independent, yet do justice to the rights of blood.

Though this will of the king of Spain was not made known to any of the rival powers, the Spanish succession, as the death of Charles was hourly expected, engaged the solicitude of all. But the attention of William, the grand mover of the European system, was called off, before that event took place, to the *succession* of England, in consequence of the death of the duke of Gloucester, the son of the princess Anne, and the last male heir in the Protestant line. Catholics were excluded from succeeding to the English crown, by the former act of settlement : it therefore became necessary now to proceed to Protestant females; and, as it was not probable that William or Anne would have any future issue, the eventual succession to the crown was settled by the parliament on Sophia, duchess dowager of Hanover, and the heirs general of her body, being Protestants¹⁶. She was grand-daughter of James I. by the princess Elizabeth, married to the unfortunate elector Palatine.

This settlement of the crown was accompanied with certain limitations, or provisions for the security of the rights and liberties of the subject, which were supposed to have been overlooked at the Revolution. The principal of these were, that all affairs relative to government, cognisable by the privy council, should be submitted to it, and that all resolutions therein taken should be signed by the members who advised or consented to them; that no pardon should be pleadable to an impeachment in parliament; that no person, who should possess any office under the

¹⁵ De Torcy, vol. i.—Voltaire, *Siecle*, chap. xvi.

¹⁶ Journals, April 14, 1701.

king, or receive a pension from the crown, should be capable of sitting in the house of commons; that the commissions of the judges should be rendered permanent, and their salaries be ascertained and established; that, in the event of the devolution or transfer of the crown to a foreigner, the English nation should not be obliged, without the consent of parliament, to enter into any war for the defence of territories not depending on the kingdom of England; and that whoever should come to the possession of the throne, should join in communion with the church of England¹⁷. While the English were thus settling the succession to their crown, and coolly providing for the security of their liberties, all the free states of the continent were thrown into alarm, by the death of Charles of Spain, and his will in favour of the house of Bourbon. Louis seemed at first to hesitate, whether he should accept the will or adhere to the treaty of partition. By the latter, France would have received a considerable accession of territory, and have had England and Holland for her allies against the emperor; by the former, she would have the glory of giving a master to her ancient rival, and the prospect of directing, through him, the Spanish councils, at the hazard of having the emperor, England, and Holland, for her enemies. This danger was foreseen; but Louis could not resist the vanity of placing his grandson on the throne of Spain. He accepted the will by the advice of his council¹⁸; and the duke of Anjou, with the general consent of the Spanish nation, was crowned at Madrid, under the name of Philip V.

The French monarch, in order to justify his conduct to the king of England and the states-general, who loudly complained of his breach of faith, very plausibly urged, that the treaty of partition was not likely to answer the ends for which it had been negotiated; that the emperor had refused to accede to it; that it was approved by none of the princes to whom it had been communicated; that the people of England and Holland had expressed their dissatisfaction at the prospect of seeing France put in possession of Naples and Sicily; that the Spaniards were so determined against the division of their monarchy, that there would be a necessity of conquering them, before the treaty could be executed; that the whole Spanish succession would have devolved upon the archduke Charles, if France had rejected the will; the same courier, who brought it, having orders to proceed immediately to Vienna, with such an offer, in case of the refusal of the court of Versailles; that the conservation of the peace of Europe was what his most Christian majesty considered as the chief object of the contracting parties; and that, true to this

¹⁷ Journals, ubi supra.

¹⁸ De Torey, tome i.

principle, he had only departed from the words, that he might the better adhere to the spirit of the treaty¹⁹.

Though these reasons were by no means satisfactory to William or the states, they cautiously concealed their resentment, as they were not in a condition to support it by any decisive measure. And it has been asserted, with some appearance of truth, that, if they had permitted Philip V. peaceably to enjoy the Spanish throne, he would have become, in a few years, as good a Spaniard as any of the preceding Philips, and have utterly excluded the influence of French councils from the administration of his realm; whereas the confederacy that was afterward formed against him, and the war by which it was followed, threw him wholly into the hands of the French, because their fleets and armies were necessary to his defence, and gave France a sway over the Spanish councils, which she has ever since retained²⁰.

It must, however, be confessed, that independent of prejudice or passion, war had become unavoidable. To secure commerce and barriers, prevent an union of the powerful monarchies of France and Spain in any future period, and preserve, to a certain degree at least, an equilibrium of power, were matters of too great moment to England, Holland, and to Europe in general, to be suffered to depend on the moderation of the French, and the vigour of the Spanish councils, under a prince of the house of Bourbon, a grandson of Louis XIV., yet in his minority. Aware of this, and conscious of their own weakness, the Spaniards resigned themselves entirely to the guardianship of the French monarch. The regency commanded the viceroys of the provinces to obey his orders: a French squadron anchored in the Port of Cadiz; another was sent to the protection of the Spanish settlements in America; and, under pretence that the states were making preparations for war, the court of France was empowered to take possession of the Dutch barrier in Flanders²¹.

The elector of Bavaria, uncle to Philip V., and governor of the Spanish Netherlands, introduced on the same day, Jan. and at the same hour, French troops into all the barrier towns in Flanders, and seized the Dutch forces that were in garrison, to the number of twenty-two battalions. Overwhelmed with consternation at this event, especially when they reflected on their own defenceless condition, and the facility of an invasion from France, the states agreed to acknowledge the new king of Spain; and the French monarch, on receiving a

¹⁹ Burnet, book vi.—De Torey, tome i.

²⁰ Bolingbroke's Sketch of the Hist. and State of Europe.

²¹ Mem. de Noailles, tome i.—Burnet, book vi.

letter to that purpose, ordered their troops to be set at liberty²². The king of England was more firm and resolute : but having in vain attempted to draw the parliament, which consisted chiefly of Tories, and is supposed to have been under the influence of French gold, into his hostile views, he at last found it expedient to acknowledge the duke of Anjou as lawful sovereign of Spain, though Louis refused to give any other security for the peace of Europe, than a renewal of the treaty of Ryswick²³.

The emperor now, of all the great powers of Europe, alone continued to dispute the title of Philip; but, though he alleged a prior right to the whole Spanish monarchy, he confined his immediate views to a part, and fixed upon the duchy of Milan, which he claimed as a fief of the empire. He accordingly issued his mandate to the inhabitants, commanding their obedience on pain of being considered as rebels. But the prince of Vaudemont, governor of that duchy, had already submitted to the new king of Spain, conformably to the will of Charles II. A body of French troops, at his requisition, had entered the Milanese territory. These were soon followed by a powerful army ; and the duke of Savoy, whose daughter Philip had married in order to strengthen his interest on that side, was declared captain-general of the whole.

The emperor was not discouraged, by these formidable appearances, from pursuing his claim to the duchy of Milan. He sent an army of thirty thousand men into Italy, under prince Eugene, who forced the passage of the Adige, along which the French troops were posted ; entered their entrenchments at Carpi, and obliged them to cover themselves behind the Mincio. In consequence of this and other advantages, the imperialists became masters of all the country between the Adige and the Adda: they even penetrated into the Brescian territory, and the French found it necessary to retire beyond the Oglio²⁴.

The mareschal de Catinat, who was second in command, began to suspect that all the misfortunes of the French, in the field, could not proceed from the superior genius of prince Eugene. He became doubtful of the fidelity of the duke of Savoy, and communicated his suspicions to Louis, who, unwilling to believe that his interest could be betrayed by a prince so intimately connected with his family, ascribed these surmises to impatience or private disgust, and sent the mareschal de Villeroy to supersede Catinat. Anxious to signalise himself by

²² Mem. of the Duke of Berwick, vol. i.—Burnet, book vi.

²³ Id. *ibid*.

²⁴ Mem. de Feuquieres.—Voltaire

some great action, Villeroy, in concert with the commander in chief, attempted to surprise the imperialists in their camp at Chiari ; but, the duke of Savoy having informed prince Eugene of the disposition of the intended attack, the French were repulsed with considerable loss²⁵.

During these operations in Italy, the English and Dutch were engaged in fruitless negotiation with France ; which were continued rather to gain time for warlike preparations, than with any hope of preserving the peace of Europe. At last the departure of the French ambassador, D'Avaux, from the Hague, put an end to even the appearance of a negotiation ; and the successes of the emperor, though by no means decisive, made his cause be viewed with a more favourable eye. He had already secured the elector of Brandenburg, through the channel of his vanity, by dignifying him with the title of King of Prussia. The German princes, in general were induced to depart from their proposed neutrality. The king of England, though still thwarted by his parliament, had resolved upon a war ; and the king of Denmark was ready to assist him with subsidiary troops²⁶.

In proportion as Leopold observed the increase of the inclination of the maritime powers for war, he rose in his demands with respect to the terms of the projected alliance. He at one time seemed determined to be satisfied with nothing less than the whole Spanish monarchy ; but finding William and the states resolute against engaging in such an ambitious project, he moderated his views, and acceded to their proposals. They would only undertake to procure for him the Spanish dominions in Italy, and to recover Flanders, as a barrier for Holland.—Matters being thus adjusted, the famous treaty, generally known by the name of the **GRAND ALLIANCE**, was signed August 27. by the plenipotentiaries of the emperor, the king of England, and the states-general. The avowed objects of this treaty were, “ to procure satisfaction to his imperial majesty in regard to the Spanish succession, obtain security to the English and Dutch, for their dominions and commerce, prevent the union of the monarchies of France and Spain, and hinder the French from possessing the Spanish dominions in America.” It was also stipulated, that the king of England and the states might retain for themselves whatever lands and cities they should conquer in both Indies ; and the contracting powers agreed to employ two months, in attempting to obtain by amicable means, the satisfaction and security which they demanded²⁷.

25 *Mercure Hist. et Politique.*—Henault, tome ii.

26 Burnet.—Lamberti.—De Torey.

27 *Recueil des Traites.*

While this confederacy, which afterward lighted, with so much fury, the flames of war in the southern part of Europe, was in agitation, the north-east quarter was deeply involved in blood. Charles XII. no sooner raised the siege of Copenhagen, in consequence of his treaty with the king of Denmark, than he turned his arms against the Russians, who had undertaken the siege of Narva with eighty thousand men. Charles, with only ten thousand men, advanced to the relief of the place; and having carried, without difficulty, all the out-posts, he resolved to attack the Russian camp³⁰. As soon as the artillery had made a breach in the entrenchments, he ordered an assault to be made with screwed bayonets, under favour of a storm of snow, which the wind drove full in the face of the enemy. The Russians, for a time, stood the shock with firmness; but, after an engagement of three hours, their entrenchments were forced with great slaughter, and Charles entered Narva in triumph³¹. About eighteen thousand of the enemy are said to have been killed in the action; many were drowned; near thirty thousand were made prisoners; and all their magazines, artillery, and baggage, fell into the hands of the Swedes. Charles dismissed all his prisoners, after disarming them, except the officers, whom, however, he treated with great generosity.

The czar was not present in this battle. He had imprudently, though perhaps fortunately, left his camp, in order to forward the approach of another army, with which he hoped to surround the king of Sweden. When informed of the disaster before Narva, he was chagrined, but not discouraged. "I knew that the Swedes would beat us," said he; "but, in time, they will teach us to become their conquerors." Conformably to this opinion, though at the head of forty thousand men, instead of advancing against the victor, he evacuated all the provinces he had invaded, and led back his raw troops into his own country; where he employed himself in disciplining them, and in civilising his people, not doubting that he should one day be able to crush his rival.

The king of Sweden, having passed the winter at Narva, took the field as soon as the season would permit, with all the towering hopes of a youthful conqueror. He entered Livonia, and appeared in the neighbourhood of Riga, which the king of Poland had in vain besieged the preceding campaign. The Poles and Saxons were posted along the Duna, which is very broad at that place; and Charles, who lay on the opposite side of the river, was under the necessity of forcing a passage.—This he effected, although with much difficulty; the Swedes

30 In November, 1700.

31 Voltaire, *Hist. de Charles XII.*

being driven back into the river after they had formed themselves upon the land. Their young king rallied them in the water; and leading them to the charge in a more compact body, repulsed *mareschal Stenau*, who commanded the Saxons, and advanced into the plain. There a general engagement ensued, and the Swedes obtained a complete victory. The enemy lost two thousand men, with all their artillery and baggage. The loss of the Swedes was not very considerable, though the duke of Courland penetrated three times into the heart of the king's guards³².

Immediately after the victory, Charles advanced to Mittau, the capital of Courland. That city, and all the towns in the duchy, surrendered to him at discretion. His expedition thither was rather a journey than a military enterprise. From Courland he passed into Lithuania in victorious progress; and he felt a particular satisfaction, when he entered in triumph the town of Birzen, where Augustus king of Poland, and the czar Peter, had planned his destruction but a few months before. It was here that, under the stimulating influence of resentment, he formed the great project of dethroning Augustus, by means of his own subjects. That prince had been accustomed to govern despotically in Saxony; and fondly imagining that he might exercise the same authority in Poland, as in his hereditary dominions, he lost the hearts of his new people.—The Poles murmured at seeing their towns enslaved by Saxon garrisons, and their frontiers covered with Russian armies.—More jealous of their liberty than ambitious of conquest, they considered the war with Sweden as an artful measure of the court, in order to furnish a pretext for the introduction of foreign troops³³.

Charles resolved to take advantage of these discontents, and succeeded beyond his fondest hopes. But in the prosecution of this, and his other ambitious projects, we must leave him for a time, that we may contemplate a more important scene of action.

32 Parthenay, *Hist. de Pologne*, tome i.—Voltaire.

33 Parthenay.—Voltaire.

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